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ALGERIA: TORTURE — QUESTION FOR ALL MEN

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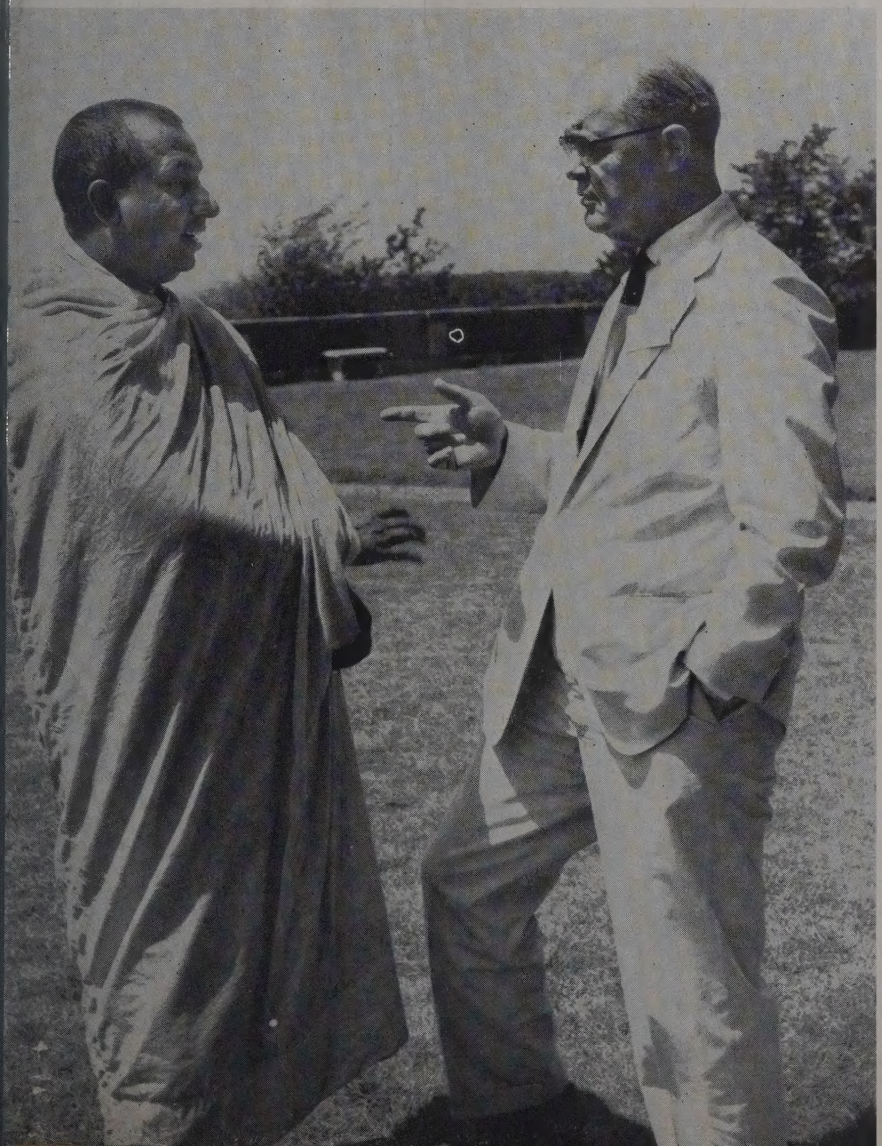

LIBERAL JUDAISM and the MODERN NEED

SOLOMON B. FREEHOF

WHOSE EYE SHOULD BE AT THE KEYHOLE?

J. FORD LEWIS

CALIFORNIA LOYALTY OATH DECISIONS ANALYZED

REPORT ON 16TH IARF CONGRESS

OPEN FORUM

Article on anti-Catholicism among Unitarians draws letters of concern, disagreement, and appreciation

To the Register:

Dr. Samsom's ambivalent article in the June *Register* can be very misleading to people poorly informed on the subject of Catholicism. Those who stand for the preservation of United States democracy naturally resent being referred to as bigoted or prejudiced. Beliefs based on facts are not prejudiced.

He [Dr. Samsom] admits that a candidate should give "specific assurance that he is not bound by the historic Roman Catholic position on matters of public education, birth control, medicine," and truly favor separation of church and state; so it is not clear as to what . . . he refers to as prejudiced. . . .

Before he labels bigots those who defeated Al Smith, he should know that a United States president has great power for the public weal or woe. A Roman president . . . could start a war . . . to pull the Vatican's chestnuts out of the fire or to extend the modern Roman empire . . . . in spite of Congress or the Constitution. It is almost impossible . . . to determine whether the . . . ruling loyalty of a Catholic candidate is to United States democracy or . . . the Vatican. The author is naïve to depend on the mere word of a politician in this respect when the hazard is so great.

Therefore, the unwritten law of the United States has been . . . that no Romanist may be president of the United States, and history justifies that law. English law excludes Romanists from the throne for the same reason, and no United States Catholic has ever been allowed to be pope, so I do not see that Catholics have any right to complain about the United States law.

No pope has ever been known to give even a mild expression of approval of democracy. This is all the more remarkable because he must live with and be supported by United States democracy. United States Catholics who support him have the power to require the Pope to approve United States democracy publicly, and they should do so before they aspire to elect a member as president. . . .

The author's lament about what we would do about parochial school pupils if the Roman church ceased educating them is not convincing. The answer is that we would educate them the democratic way by only about a ten per cent increase in the public schools, . . . and the nation would be better off as a result.

I conclude that "sectarian tension" cannot be removed by the author's suggestions. It is wise to go along wih Paul Blanshard and other Americans united for the proper preservation and enforcement of United States laws, which are as much a divine revelation as that claimed by any religion. — C. P. STEVENS, *Escalon, Calif.*

WATCH THAT WORDAGE

The Unitarian Register regrets that, because of limited space, it can offer no assurance that letters of more than 500 words will be given any consideration for publication in the Open Forum.

To the Register:

In the June *Register*, Dr. Peter Samsom says: "A prejudice against Catholicism has as little appropriateness among us as a prejudice against Negroes, Jews, free thinkers, foreigners, or women." After nearly fifty years in the Catholic Church-dominated countries of Latin America, with frequent visits home to the U.S.A., I most emphatically disagree.

The high level of living, education, technical advance, and political stability in the U.S.A. is chiefly due to the fact that we have always been non-Catholic. On the other hand the poverty, ignorance, ill health, and political instability of the vast majority of Latin Americans is simply because they have always been Roman Catholic-dominated. Furthermore, the countries that are making the most rapid progress are those that have been most successful in ridding themselves of Catholic church domination, notably Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Mexico.

Dr. Samsom also says, "Cleveland is not Colombia." After nearly thirty years in this country, I can assure you that the vast majority of Colombian Catholics are peaceable and friendly people, even toward foreign Protestants. The trouble has been that a very small minority, less than 1,000 fanatical priests, their bishops and political henchmen have been able to vent their hatred against Protestants during the past ten years of church-supported and church-supporting dictatorships. Before that, Protestants had little trouble, and we have hopes that with the coming to power of a popularly elected government, this will come to an end. — B. E. LONG, *Cali, Colombia.*

To the Register:

My husband and I appreciate very much the excellent and timely article [June] by our dear friend and former minister, Peter H. Samsom. It is a stanch defense of true liberalism.

Anti-Catholicism has indeed become "the anti-Semitism of many liberals" (self-styled liberals).

A recent experience demonstrates this increase in sectarian prejudice. The consensus at a meeting of our local Unitarian Club was that liberals should not vote for a Catholic! Instead, they should help to defeat him by supporting a reactionary with most of whose political views they disagree!

It would be impossible to imagine liberals taking such a stand in 1928, when Al Smith was maligned, persecuted, and defeated because of his religion!

If this intolerance also prevails among Cleveland Unitarians, Peter Samsom deserves high praise for his courage in adhering to our liberal and democratic tradition and discussing this subject so frankly, logically, and sanely.

We also enjoyed the informative article by our present minister, John Ruskin Clark. — LILLIAN G. BUCK, *National City, Calif.*

Mrs. Blanshard assailed for reporting about DAR

To the Register:

Just what did Mrs. Blanshard gain, and what was her idea in reporting [June *Register*] only an unfortunate misunderstanding during the annual convention of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution?

If she had been a member of the society, no doubt she might have helped decide just how one would go about awarding an American Good Citizenship honor to a non-American.

The Daughters of the American Revolution have never pretended to be anything but a national organization.

Why did she think such smear reporting would bring worthwhile news to the readers of *The Unitarian Register*?

If she felt it was necessary to do any reporting on their meeting, why didn't she also report some of the many splendid and valuable services which the society does?

Of course the society is not perfect, but it does honor and respect and attempt to preserve those things in the American way of life which apparently Mrs. Blanshard takes so lightly when she reports only "petty" incidents and misunderstandings.

I have long wondered if her page has any place in the *Register*, and if much of her reporting carries any worthwhile news for readers and Unitarians. — MRS. R. M. PEFFER, *Corvallis, Ore.*

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To the Register:

I don't know whether other Unitarians who thought they could retain membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution and be a Unitarian at the same time have had my experience, but I finally realized, after a membership of 45 years in the DAR, that I was linked with a group of incurable unbelievers in social justice, religious freedom, democratic ideals, and faith in the American people.

Individually, Daughters of the American Revolution are the most charming women, the kindest friends, and as congenial companions as one could meet anywhere, but get them together at one of their annual conventions and they behave like a gathering of backwoods KKK's. Their latest contribution to the American way of life is an attack on the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., in which they charge thirty-five million of their fellow Americans with engaging in atheistic, materialistic, socialistic, and dear-knows-what subversive activities.

Back of all this sound and fury, one finds that the National Society of the DAR is dominated by a splinter group of fanatical fundamentalists operating under the name of the National Laymen's Council of the Church League of America, with headquarters in Wheaton, Illinois. The DAR is sending out tracts and leaflets published by these people, presumably using funds of the DAR treasury to pay for postage.

Believe it or not, one of the charges brought against the National Council of Churches is that it is teaching "the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God," which only helps the Communist conspiracy in the United States, say the Wheaton Christians. Examples of their addled theology and scripture-twisting would make a list too long to quote here, but I suggest the Unitarian Daughters write to headquarters in Washington for the tracts and read for themselves to what depth of heretic-hunting our formerly respected DAR has descended.

I don't know why I stayed in as long as I did, except that I dreaded to cut the ties of friendships of many years. But having cut them, I can show my face amongst honest Unitarians again. — MRS. ALFRED C. MORNEWECK, *Stuart, Fla.*

Los Angelenos celebrate Supreme Court victory

To the Register:

We celebrated spontaneously and appropriately enough on the eve of Independence Day in Griffith Park.

Someone got the idea for a picnic dinner; a chain reaction set in; one phoned the other and at final tally, over 300 of us showed up. This all happened within three days beginning with noon on Monday, when the glad tidings came to us over the radio. The dinner away, we gathered around the campfire — no program, we just sang.

In the midst of this jubilee our leader and minister entered the singing circle. We all rose for him but he waved us down. He held aloft a large board tacked full of telegrams from over the United States and a cable from England. We were commended for our courage and fight-back. The senders wished us well in poetry, with lines from great literature and one from a Negro spiritual that admonished us to "walk together, children."

"The great day comin'" for our church and 34,999 other churches in California had come on Monday, June 30, when the historic decision of the U. S. Supreme Court knocked the pins from under the California church loyalty oath. We had worried far into the night and had struggled for long years against this intrusive piece of legislation. At long last, freedom of speech and religious conscience had been restored to those of us who worship at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles.

At going-home time we were singing, "Fritchman is our leader, we shall not be moved . . . just like a tree that's standing by the water . . ." — DAVID SEIDMAN, *Los Angeles, Calif.*

Heads: determinist wins; tails: his opponent loses

To the Register:

Gardner Williams in his editorial in the June *Register* postulates a person, X, as having a choice between A and B, and choosing A. "In order that X should choose and do B," Mr. Williams says, "the past must have been different from what it was, which cannot and could not be. It is absolutely impossible for X to choose B."

Mr. Williams accepts some of the implications of determinism in his subsequent reasoning, but tells us that, although X cannot in fact choose B because he does not prefer it, he is not actually unfree within one meaning of the term because unfreedom really consists in not being able to do what one prefers to do — even if what one prefers to do has already been determined by our heredity and environment.

But suppose X is at a fork in a road. He can go farther on road A, to the left, or on road B, to the right. He deliberately and after careful thought chooses A. Now wouldn't a determinist claim that X had a decisive preference for A growing out of his past? But suppose X chooses B. Wouldn't the determinist now maintain that X had a decisive preference for B growing out of his past? Isn't this a clear case of heads, the determinist wins; tails, his opponent loses?

By projecting ourselves into the position of X as he makes his choice, we recognize, however, that his choice at the fork in the road is that of a living, thinking, willing human being. Accordingly, he may have the will power to decide at one precise point in time which alternative he prefers, and to choose accordingly. Can it not be will power, rather than heridity and environment, which is determinative in both preference and choice in some instances?

And if what I call will power can impel one to do what he knows he should do, rather than what he would otherwise do under the unrestricted influences of heredity and environment, is he not making what "ought to be" the decisive influence in his motivation? This call of duty is close to what we mean when we speak of morality. But, as Mr. Williams says, this is another story. — RICHARD NEIL HAYTON, *Kailua, Hawaii.*

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COVER: Dr. James Luther Adams (right), Harvard Divinity School, greets the Venerable Indurwee Panetissa, director of the Buddhist Academy of Ceylon, one of many foreign delegates to the 16th Congress of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom, held August 9 through 13 in Chicago, Illinois.

(James Coyne photo)

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EDITORIALS

Editorials express the opinions of the individual members of the Editorial Board

GOD

Most orthodox people say and *consciously* think that God is a supernatural, stern, wise, providential, loving, personal force, like a noble father or king, controlling world events.

The infantile desire to be taken care of by a strong and good father endures in the adult life of most people. Sigmund Freud has dealt with this idea in his book, *The Future of an Illusion,* and I think that he has disposed of the cosmological applications of it for mature and enlightened people, who depend upon others for help, sympathy, and corroboration, but who commonly understand that they get this, perhaps imperfectly, from real people who are more nearly their equals than any supposed supreme patriarchal dictator of the universe.

Freud's naturalistic-humanistic theory is corroborated by Charles Darwin *(Origin of Species)* and by George Wald *(The Physics and Chemistry of Life)*.

But *subconsciously,* most religious people attend church largely for the purpose of renewing and expressing their devotion to the good, or to the highest good, the *summum bonum.* Their worship of God is, essentially, a striving toward the ideal of man's highest good. They commonly think of atheism as a repudiation of standards and ideals of proper conduct.

Even honest and ruggedly defiant humanists, if they are socially adjusted, seldom call themselves atheists; godless perhaps, but not atheists; though, of course, in the primitive, supernaturalistic sense, they really are godless atheists. But we ought not to be primitive. At least subconsciously, the word atheism, to most people, means depravity.

The standard, ideal, or principle of the highest good, properly called God, to which normal people commonly give their allegiance, is an abstract potential. It is never actualized. It never exists except when expressed as an idea in somebody's mind. It, itself, is not a force, a substance, or an event. In George Santayana's terminology, it is an essence. It is one kind of thing, fact, being, or reality. It really is a valid principle in the sense that no one does what is right without acting as nearly as he can according to it.

The principle of the good is satisfactory living, and that of the highest good is what is most deeply satisfactory to an individual in the long run. This principle has an absolute moral and spiritual validity which is often mistaken for all-power. God is said to be almighty. But only the supreme being, the basic physical substance, ultimate actuality, or foundation existence of the cosmos, is almighty. It has the power to do, and does, directly or indirectly, everything that is done, both good and evil.

Religion is intelligible and appealing when God is interpreted as the highest good. No rational science or scepticism can discredit it. It expresses man's ultimate aspiration.

A number of leading thinkers have indicated that God is man's highest good. *They* appear to have meant this more or less consciously. I appeal to them, not as authorities on what one should believe, but as evidence to indicate that employing the word *God* in the meaning I recommend is a commonly, though at times subconsciously, accepted usage. St. Thomas *(Works),* says that God is the highest good. Thomas got the idea from Aristotle *(Metaphysics).* It is an official Catholic doctrine today. Also Max Otto *(The Human Enterprise)* says that to be anti-social is ethical atheism. Then ethical (or real) theism is being socially cooperative and working for man's highest good. Then God is man's highest good.

The following major and minor prophets have in large measure agreed with Thomas and Otto: Descartes, in a letter to Queen Christina of Sweden; G. Santayana *(Reason in Religion),* J. Dewey *(A Common Faith),* J. Liebman, (*Peace of Mind*), Mortimer Adler *(A Dialectic of Morals),* and W. E. Zeuch *(Humanist World Digest,* November, 1957).

GARDNER WILLIAMS

PRAYER

Be ye perfect, for through you humanity
can approach perfection
By the fashioning of ways by which man
may emerge and ascend.
Have no fear of error; but know that
failure to learn from error is sin.
Be wise in the knowledge of your power,
so little so usable.
Be strong of will to hurdle the ditches of
hate
And to climb from the self-dug wells of
life from which
Imprisoned, we stare upward through
circling stone
To see heaven as a pale, inaccessible, tight
circle of light,
Hurtful, oppressive and cruel, but self
placed to torture.
We had forgotten that we placed it so,
so long have we reached for heaven
After we had retreated from joy and made
heaven small after the pattern
Of a wizened soul, envisioned by eyes in-
turned from the fair earth.
The need is to aspire, lest a little heaven
be the cover
That smothers us in our seeping well of
pity
Wherein we find the being we never knew
until desperation
Gave us to understand, flicked the lens
of sight and made us know
The source of life and death, of hope and
courage in the self.

ARTHUR GRAHAM

EXPERIMENT IN OUTREACH

The bequest was in the amount of $100,000. The will declared that it was to be invested and its income used for the benefit of the First Unitarian Church. The kind of investment and the specific uses were to be at the discretion of the board of trustees. The finance committee recommended a balanced investment program of gilt-edged securities, common stocks, and government bonds, as was true of the half-million dollar endowment already in its care.

A member of the trustees interposed a question: "I wonder if this *is* the most profitable way for us to invest this gift. Is there not a possibility that we may invest it in such a way as not only will produce income for our program but also help some one of our younger churches on its way?"

The trustee spoke of a specific situation with which he was familiar. It concerned a church in a rapidly growing suburb of one of our large cities. It was scarcely a year old, yet had almost 200 families. It had a seasoned minister with unbounded enthusiasm. It had a rapidly growing church school. It had an opportunity to purchase an ideal church site with buildings which could be made useful, but, straining itself to its utmost, it found there was a gap of about $25,000 between what it could raise and borrow and what it needed to buy. The situation seemed sound and full of promise.

"Is there not some way," the trustee inquired, "that we might judge the soundness of situations such as these so that we might safely invest our $100,000 in liberal churches instead of corporations? Can we not invest in sound opportunities for liberal religion both to their advantage and to ours? Are we not in a position to be able to run some risks which commercial lenders cannot run because of our faith in the movement of which we are a part? Can we not thus kill two birds with one stone, or, to put it more positively and optimistically, hatch a dozen eggs with one hen?"

"Let's find out what other large churches with endowments are doing," suggested one trustee.

"Let's see if a small group of churches could work on this together, working out a single formula to apply to all loans, and sharing the few losses equally," said another.

"This sounds like real religion to me," said a third. "I move that we allocate an initial amount of $25,000 to be invested in this way if sound situations can be found. Let us concentrate on the churches in our own region and area, and coördinate this effort through our regional headquarters."

It was seconded and voted. And so a new experiment in self help in the outreach of Unitarian organization and influence was under way.

DONALD HARRINGTON

IDEA POOL

"The conservatism of a religion — its orthodoxy — is the inert coagulum of a once highly reactive sap. A rising religious movement is all change and experiment — open to new views and techniques from all quarters." — Eric Hoffer, The True Believer. *Mentor MD228. Page 14.*

FRANKLY SPEAKING

With the approval of friends, I hope, I am going to take advantage of the kind offer of space in the *Register* monthly to communicate candidly with our constituents and its readers in reference to matters that seem important to me. And I shall be glad always to welcome any response, in whatever form, that these thoughts may elicit.

I am told that I am an optimist, but I believe in my own heart that Unitarianism is an optimistic religion, and that this is a time for optimism.

To be sure, man has invented weapons that could blow him to bits. It is currently conjectured that nature's power which he has unleashed might turn upon him, and come as close to exterminating him from the face of our planet as the flood came to drowning him in the day when Noah alone sought the safety of an ark until the top of Mount Ararat pierced the waters that had inundated the earth. There is conflict between the East and the West, or between Russia and the United States, that almost persuades us that we have made no progress since the times of Hitler and Napoleon. And there are religious and racial tensions in the world reminiscent of the crusades and of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Even among Unitarians there are problems: people are too indifferent, and they stay away from church; or they are flocking too rapidly to the services, and there isn't money to build or enlarge edifices fast enough; we haven't learned yet how to preserve our freedoms and at the same time cultivate an adequate depth of faith and spirit of unity among us; we need to be more democratic, and even the right relationship between our regions and our continental organization must still be discovered and effected. But despite these facts, the future is on our side.

Frankly speaking, I believe that liberals face the greatest challenge and prerogative in their history. It is our business to resolve our problems, and to pioneer for a free faith and a better world. And I am very eager that to this end we shall keep our sights high. Saint Paul probably never would have arrived at Rome if he hadn't set out to go to Spain, which was at the farthest end of the Great Sea. William Tell would have missed the apple and killed his son if he hadn't aimed his arrow above the point of its final destination. We are missionaries for a great cause, and we need to aim high, with courage and not cowardice in our hearts, to hit the mark that is set for us at this moment, and for our children's welfare in the years to come. We must be inspired by a great vision, else all our tradition and all our labor and organization are in vain. We can and we will found and foster churches and fellowships from Maine and Montreal to Mexico, and from Alaska to Florida.

We are the AMERICAN Unitarian Association, and we must make the principles of our religion count on our whole continent for even more than in the days of the sowing of the seed of liberalism when John Adams and Thomas Jefferson corresponded so trustingly between Boston and Monticello. We must strengthen our outreach, so that we not only plant twenty or thirty new churches and fifty or sixty new fellowships a year, but correspondingly our love of truth and our passion for peace spread from shore to shore and around the globe. And incidentally, to underwrite and insure the expansion of our movement and the performance of our duty, we shall prepare ourselves to pledge with one accord the kind of support that is worthy of our enterprise.

The Chicago Congress of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom in August was a harbinger of hope for us. Excluding the recent May meetings in Boston, it was the largest conference that we liberals have had in America for many decades. Notable addresses were well matched by wise and persevering panel discussions focusing the light of the faiths of mankind upon the social and ethical questions of the hour. A British statesman led us in our conviction that a confident liberalism is for the whole of life, and internationally famous Buddhist and Muslim jurists joined a Hindu teacher and an American rabbi in confirming our belief that the law of brotherhood is the *sine qua non* of our modern civilization. We can both deepen our roots and broaden our foliage contemporaneously. We must lengthen the cords as well as strengthen the stakes of our tent or tabernacle.

We were criticized upon occasion for the phraseology of our Chicago theme, "Today's Religions Can Meet the World's Needs Today," but I would assert that it is an incontrovertible fact that Unitarianism in America has the obligation and the opportunity to *lead* today's religions *toward* meeting the world's needs today. We could fail; but we can win. And we WILL win if we are sufficiently conscious of the importance of a cause that knows no limitation of creed, or class, or country, or race, or region, or despair, or division of any kind.

DANA MCLEAN GREELEY

NEWS OF THE UNITARIAN WORLD

DELEGATES TO IARF CONGRESS EXPRESS CONFIDENCE RELIGION CAN BE MADE TO MEET MAN'S NEEDS TODAY

More than one thousand delegates and observers attending the 16th Congress of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom (IARF) faced the question implicit in the congress theme, "Today's Religions Can Meet the World's Needs Today," in five-day meetings August 9 through 13 on the University of Chicago campus — and emerged with an expression of confidence rather than an answer.

A preamble to the reports of six panels, adopted in plenary session, declared:

"In adopting this theme, the Congress makes a bold claim. It is by no means a claim of present accomplishment. Rather, it is a claim upon the future. It is the expression of a confidence in the resources that are available to men of contrite heart, to men who in the spirit of Jesus and of the great prophets of all religions are willing to take risks for the sake of their faith. . . .

"The liberal religious outlook is freedom-loving, freedom-seeking, freedom-giving. This search for freedom calls for communication between the great traditions and perspectives, for the dialogue that elicits creative integrity. . . . It is out of this conversation with others and with the transcendent that integrity overcomes arrogance with creative love."

Delegates represented more than ten million religious liberals from eighteen nations and five of the world's great religions: Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Judaism. The total was swelled when five organizations, largest number at any one IARF Congress, were admitted to membership. They are the Green Street Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the "Old Catholic" Congregation, Krakow, Poland; the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Surinam (Dutch Guiana); the Free Religious Society of Offenbach, Germany; and the Rhineland Free Religious Society, Mainz, Germany.

Dr. Ernest W. Kuebler, administrator of the Council of Liberal Churches (Universalist-Unitarian), Inc., was elected president of the IARF for a three-year term to succeed the Right Honorable J. Chuter Ede of England. Mr. Ede continues to be a member of the executive committee as past president. The Rev. Dana E. Klotzle, Boston, and Professor Friedrich Heiler, Marburg, Germany, were elected and Dr. Hideo Kishimota, Tokyo, Japan, and the Rev. Georges Marchal, Paris, France, re-elected members of the committee. The committee was authorized to appoint a treasurer.

The association also authorized a continuous study group "to develop common objectives and joint projects."

Selection of a site in Switzerland for the 1961 congress was deferred.

Principal public interest was attracted by five evening speakers, representing five religions, each of whom told what he believed his religion can contribute to meeting the world's needs. Dr. Wilhelm Pauck, professor of church history, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York, spoke for Christianity; Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague, The Netherlands, and formerly foreign minister of Pakistan, for Islam; Dr. Kalidas Nag, Calcutta, India, a member of the Brahmo Samaj, for Hinduism; the Honorable U Chan Htoon, a justice of the Supreme Court of Burma and vice-president of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, for Buddhism; and Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof, D.D., Rodef Shalom Temple, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for Judaism.

Delegates were greeted August 9 at a welcoming dinner by Dr. Dana McLean Greeley, president of the American Unitarian Association and chairman of the general committee for the congress, and Dr. Philip R. Giles, general superintendent of the Universalist Church of America. The AUA and the UCA were hosts to the congress. Greetings also were given by Dr. Kuebler and Mr. Ede.

Principal speaker at an all-congress luncheon August 12 was Dr. Preston Bradley, minister of the People's Church, Chicago.

BURMESE JUSTICE GREETED: Dr. Ernest W. Kuebler, program chairman for the 16th Congress of the IARF, greets Justice U Chan Htoon of the Supreme Court of Burma, a congress speaker, and Madame Htoon on arrival in Chicago. Later, Dr. Kuebler was elected president of the IARF.

Principal business of the congress, however, was addressed to the theme and conducted by panels, each of which met four times for discussion, and all of which met twice in plenary session. Extracts from reports of the panels and actions initiated by them:

Philosophy and Theology: "The traditional theologies, developed in static, pre-scientific, and pre-industrial cultures, have been unable to help modern man solve modern problems. Liberal religion, therefore, and liberal theology, have an increased relevance in today's world."

Resolutions recommended by the panel and adopted in plenary session called upon member groups to "use all means available to continue" the "dialogue among the religions," and to "recognize the need . . . of theological relevance, inform themselves of contemporary theological concerns and issues, and deal seriously with the questions currently being raised in theological and philosophical circles."

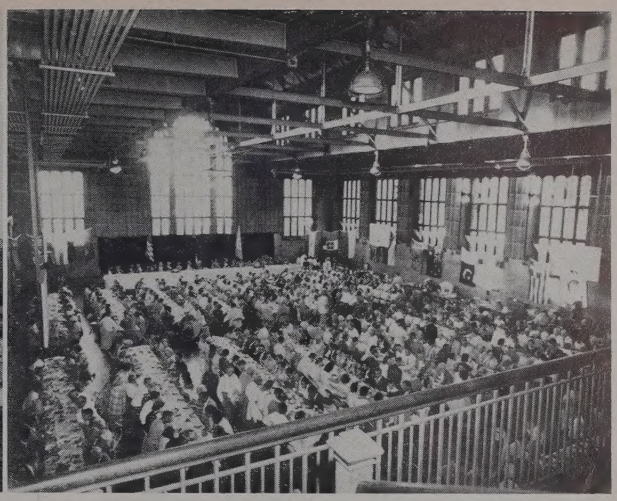
Growing Tensions — Racial, Cultural, Religious: "None of us can stand aside from the struggle to provide equal opportunity and to prevent denial of human needs. We are called to it by our enlightened self-interest; we must combat the causes of tensions that injure our communities, and we stand to gain from the promise of new creativity released among those liberated from oppression."

International Tensions and Peaceful Change: "Dedicated to the living values of our traditions, we should meet those who differ from us with confidence, but without hostility or contempt. . . . We must give first rank to our common goals. . . . We cannot exclude the possibility that war may become the greatest evil and that the pacifist position may become the realist position. Change in all group relations may occur under the pressure of necessity and power, but without destructive violence.

"The best present hope for national security and peaceful change is through perseverant negotiation and through a stronger United Nations. . . ."

Science in the Modern World: "Science and religion should contribute continuously to each others' development. . . . Religion and science share a world in common. The spirit of free inquiry and constructive skepticism contributes to scientific progress and is essential to an evolving civilization. This dynamic spirit is applicable to all fields of human thought and action, including the social sciences, humanities, and religion."

Worship, Education, and the Arts: This panel presented a resolution, adopted in plenary session, commending to "our member societies more serious consideration of the full and creative use of all the arts in worship and in church life" and calling for establishment by the IARF of a Commission on Art and Religion "to stimulate research and exchange of information, and publication of findings."



IARF DELEGATES GATHER IN CHICAGO: Some of the more than one thousand delegates and observers who attended the 16th Congress of the IARF are shown leaving Rockefeller Chapel on the University of Chicago campus after worship service at which Dr. Andre Bouvier, Geneva, Switzerland, preached the sermon. At right, delegates dine in Ida Noyes Hall gymnasium at welcoming dinner, one of principal social events.

Ethics in International Relations: "National power, unrestrained by morality, has brought the world to the brink of catastrophe. To rescue it, ethical sanity must be reasserted and made to prevail among the nations. Here religious groups, as the major bearers of the ethical traditions of the world, have a historic responsibility." The panel recommended (1) establishment of a permanent United Nations police force; (2) withdrawal of military power in Central Europe; (3) establishment of a world arms control agency under the UN; and (4) a well-informed population. "Secrecy and dishonesty by those in public office in dealing with the information in their hands generally endangers the people's freedom . . ."

Human Values and Economic Forces: "Because of understandable differences of outlook among the world's peoples, it is not only desirable, but necessary, that economic aid be planned, pooled, and administered, as largely as possible, through the United Nations and its specialized agencies . . ."

And what had the five principal speakers to say of religion's role in meeting the problems of today? Some quotations:

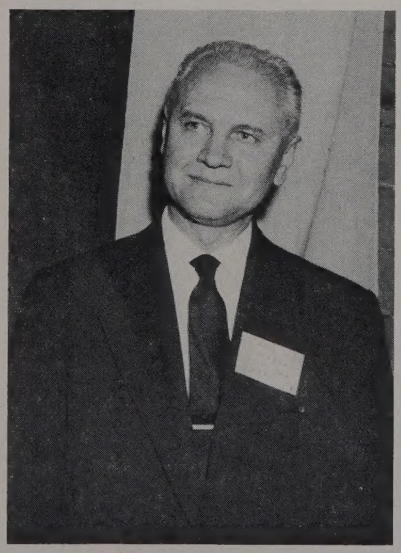
Dr. Wilhelm Pauck: "Protestantism will remain the dynamic movement in Christianity that it has been only if liberalism, particularly theological liberalism, actually comes to determine the life of the Protestant churches. There is good hope that this may be so, but at the same time, there are many obstacles in the way of the real triumph of theological and, generally speaking, of religious liberalism in Protestantism. If this victory should not take place, then the prediction of Schleiermacher will come true that religion will become an ally of barbarism while science will be coupled with unbelief."

Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan: "Many of today's problems derive from the fact that the world in which we live is rapidly becoming one world. Mankind must perforce learn to live closer together in intimate contact with each other. In other words, they must become a true brotherhood. This requires many adjustments.

"A faith, if it is to fulfill man's needs of today, must, therefore, transcend tribal, national, racial, and cultural limits, and must speak to man at a universal level. Islam does that."

Dr. Kalidas Nag: "We in India and Asia are ready to open and maintain communication with the free Christian groups in all lands, striving to unite Religion with Liberty. . . .

"We Indians, in this age of Asian Renaissance, sincerely believe that amidst wide diversity of opinions and practices, there is a fundamental unity affirmed by the core of a common faith of mankind. So, if only we can discover and realize that faith, then we shall collectively gain fresh energy in every form of spiritual conviction and religious urge in the East and the West, in the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R., India or China. . . ."



FROM BEHIND IRON CURTAIN: Bishop Miroslav Novak of the Czechoslovakian Church, Prague, lone IARF delegate from behind the Iron Curtain to attend the Chicago congress, is photographed before his country's flag at luncheon in Ida Noyes Hall, University of Chicago.

The Honorable U Chan Htoon: "Our manifold problems of worldly life, our social problems and problems of international relations, clamor for our attention with an urgency greater than ever before. If we do not succeed in resolving them, the consequences threaten to be disastrous to civilization, if not to humanity itself.

"When we look back on history, we cannot say that religion — any religion — has ever for any long period succeeded in preventing war; but the fault lies in human nature, rather than religion. The desire for self-preservation, if necessary at the cost of others, is, in all but the most exceptional people, stronger than the appeal religion makes to the nobler side of their nature.

"The remedy for this can only lie in a form of religion which carries the fullest conviction; one that is impregnable against the cold blast of scientific knowledge and is philosophically comprehensive enough to include all the elements of human experience."

Dr. Solomon B. Freehof: "The sudden change to despair over the world's future amounts to a sense of impending catastrophe. The average man is shaken by the feeling of the probable destruction of the entire fabric of human culture and civilization. . . .

"There is, indeed, something useful in such despair. This loss of easy confidence may offer an ethical opportunity. But if anything good can be made of this dark mood, it will be Christianity, especially in its new Protestant theology, which will be of especial help. But to the extent that some rebuilding of hope *is* necessary, there Judaism can serve, for it is in Judaism that earthly hope has built its firmest fortress." (*See page 18 for text of address.*)

MRS. ROOSEVELT TO SPEAK

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt will be a featured speaker at the United Nations Seminar to be held in New York City, October 13-15. Her topic will be "The Thirteenth General Assembly."

Also scheduled to speak at the conference are Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature,* and Brian Urquhart, senior official at the secretariat of the United Nations.

The seminar is sponsored jointly by the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, the Universalist Service Committee, and the Department of Adult Programs, Council of Liberal Churches (Universalist-Unitarian), Inc.

Unlike last year's seminar, this one will be open to laymen as well as ministers. To avoid repetition for those who attended the previous seminar or who have some acquaintance with the UN, two simultaneous programs are planned for part of the conference. During that time, persons who have toured the UN may visit the World Affairs Center.

Discussion groups on disarmament, colonial issues, technical assistance, and the UN's role in political crises are scheduled. An interview with the delegation of one of the member nations of the UN is also planned.

Overnight arrangements in private homes will be provided for those desiring such hospitality. Persons interested in attending the seminar may consult Dr. Dale DeWitt, Suite 8a, Hotel Ten Park Ave., New York 16, New York.

CLEMSON LEADS UUA GIVING

Three fellowships and four churches lead the list in highest per capita gifts to the United Unitarian Appeal for the fiscal year 1957-1958.

First is the Unitarian Fellowship of Clemson, South Carolina. Eleven members contributed $200 to the UUA, making their per capita gift $18.18.

Second on the honor roll is King's Chapel, Boston, Massachusetts. There 275 members contributed $4,500, a per capita gift of $16.36.

The Sturbridge, Massachusetts, Federated Church is third; its 16 Unitarian members gave $14.72 each. The First Church in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, is fourth, with per capita giving of $13.50.

Fifth, sixth, and seventh are the First Church in Boston, Massachusetts; the Unitarian Fellowship of Urbana, Ohio; and the Unitarian Fellowship of Kitsap County, Bremerton, Washington. Their per capita gifts were $12.68, $12.50, and $10.00, respectively.

JAMES J. MARSHALL DIES

James J. Marshall, regional vice-president of the American Unitarian Association from 1946 to 1948, died August 3 in Miami, Florida.

Mr. Marshall was a lawyer, an astronomer, and a Humane Society executive. He was former president of the Southern Cross Astronomical Society and a fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society of London. He was president of the Greater Miami Humane Society.

MEMBERS OF COLLOQUIUM: Participants in the Colloquium on Religious Faiths and World Ethics, August 1-2, gather at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Brookline, Massachusetts.

FIVE FAITHS IN COLLOQUIUM

Clergymen, scholars, and laymen representing five religious faiths discussed the possibility of a common ethic at the Colloquium on Religious Faiths and World Ethics, August 1-2. The colloquium was held at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Brookline, Massachusetts.

Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jews, and Moslems discussed ideological obstacles to a world ethic, the possibility for a convergence of the various religious concepts, and possible sanctions for a common ethic. Personal religious philosophies were outlined in formal and informal discussions.

Members of the organizing committee for the colloquium were Dr. James Luther Adams, chairman; the Rev. Joseph P. Bishop, vice-chairman; Ralph W. Burhoe, secretary; Swami Akhilananda, Rabbi Beryl D. Cohon, the Rev. Charles A. Engvall, Dr. George Florovsky, and Dr. Dana McLean Greeley.

Five formal sessions were held. A dinner discussion of implementation of the theme concluded the colloquium.

'T.R.' CENTENNIAL OCTOBER 26

Clergymen of all faiths are being asked to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt on Sunday, October 26.

The request comes as part of the program of the Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission, a federal agency created by act of Congress to observe the anniversary, linked to the theme of responsible citizenship. The commission will end its 12-month program October 27, birthdate of the 26th President of the United States.

"T.R." Speaks, a booklet of quotations, is available to all Unitarian ministers for sermons free of charge. Requests may be addressed to Sidney Wallach, Assistant Director, Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission, 28 East 20th Street, New York, New York.

THE REGIONS

COUNCIL CHANGES NAME

Thomas Jefferson Unitarian Council is the new name for the Unitarian regional organization of the Southeast. The name change was effected by an amendment to the council by-laws made at its annual meeting during the Blue Ridge, North Carolina, Conference, July 6-13.

Other changes in the by-laws concerned the sub-regions recognized by the council, composition of the board of directors, and voting privileges of member groups.

The TJUC now recognizes five sub-regions: Virginia and West Virginia; North and South Carolina; East and Middle Tennessee; Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi; and Florida. Each sub-region will have three directors at the next election.

Another amendment confines voting privileges to member groups who have paid dues for the prior fiscal year.

The Rev. Arthur Graham, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, was elected president of the TJUC. Other officers elected are: vice-president, Mrs. Persis Penningroth, Atlanta, Georgia; secretary, Doris Coughlin, Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and treasurer, Robert Rainey, Birmingham, Alabama.

Nearly 400 persons attended the Blue Ridge Conference. Florida and Virginia led with 73 each, followed by North Carolina with 38, and Georgia with 29.

TWO-CYCLE WEEK AT STEBBINS

Members of Stebbins Institute found a novel "two-cycle week" scheduled for them this year at the annual California summer conference. The program was divided to permit full-time conferees to attend two complete workshops during the week.

The institute was held August 17-24 at Pacific Grove, California. The Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Los Angeles, and Melvin Murphy, director of the Mental Health Association of San Diego, were scheduled as theme speakers. Mr. Murphy's subject was, "New Orbits for Religious Liberals," and Mr. Fritchman spoke on the topic, "Are Unitarians Ready for the Atomic Age?"

Under the "two cycle week" plan, two sets of workshops were held, one during the first three days of the conference and the other during the remainder of the week.

Mrs. Dudley Moore, a director of the Unitarian Service Committee, and Francis Heisler, civil liberties attorney of Carmel, California, were on the program.

CHURCH SCHOOL ROLLS GAIN

Meadville Unitarian Conference had a 23 per cent increase in church school enrollment during the last year, according to Dr. Robert Killam, regional director.

Two new churches, Amherst, New York, and Don Heights, Ontario, have joined the conference. In the same period four fellowships have affiliated: Ashtabula and Athens, Ohio; Kitchener, and Sudbury, Ontario. Six new ministers have been installed.

In the last year there has been a seven per cent increase in membership and a 16 per cent increase in operating expenses.

Dr. Killam reported that Meadville Conference has seen a steady growth during the past few years in minister's salaries, contributions to the United Unitarian Appeal, and expenditures for building.

UNITED NATIONS MEDITATION ROOM OFFERS STILLNESS OF HOPE

The stillness of hope permeates the Meditation Room of the United Nations. When peoples of every nation and every religion can find a meeting place for communion with the God of all religions, there is hope indeed. To Unitarians, this is especially appealing.

More than a million men, women and young people, without any pressure or suggestion, have visited the Meditation Room since 1952 and many have inscribed their names in the visitors' book. From every land and religion, the need to seek inner peace is made manifest.

What do they see and feel in this Meditation Room? The long, rectangular room, wider at the entrance, has bare gray walls. Indirect lighting helps relieve the darkness of the windowless room, which was carved out of the spacious entrance hall of the UN Assembly building as an afterthought.

Shining directly on a large, oblong block of polished iron ore, placed in the center, is one small shaft of direct light. On one short wall at the far end of the room is painted a modern, gay-colored mural with the UN blue, gray, and white predominating. A few individual benches are lined up at the entrance end for some to use who would commune longer. No services are held here.

On the way out, separated by a wall from the quiet inner room, is a high desk where the visitors' book is placed, ready for signatures.

That is all — and yet enough. With the exception of some beautiful oak paneling for the blank walls, a gift to the Meditation Room from the City of New York to commemorate its appreciation of Dag Hammarskjold's five-year tenure as secretary-general, to be installed shortly, what more could one add to this room of stillness?

On the paneled wall facing the entrance, these words are clearly embossed on a square, black background: "This is a room devoted to Peace and to those who are giving their lives for Peace. It is a room of quiet where only thoughts should speak."

The symbolism of the room is deeply appealing. The block of iron ore, its upper surface radiating light, represents the concept of the altar of all faiths, the omnipotence of God, if you will. Iron is the stuff from which armaments are made; it is the basic element in most agricultural and industrial implements, the articles of peace. The small spotlight shining on the iron altar has, to this daily viewer, the symbolism of eternal light, the omniscience of God. The mural, very modern in its feeling of line, color and light, still gives the feeling of the omnipresence of God. Thus omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence of Creation's Lord comes to me as one message of peace and hope.

Mr. Hammarskjold voiced his feeling of symbolism in these memorable words, spoken early this year on the occasion of his acceptance of the finished room from the representatives of the Friends of the UN Meditation Room, the organization responsible for its rebuilding:

"In a sense, what I think we had in the back of our minds was something which was said, I believe, in an ancient Chinese script, that the significance of the vessel is not in its shell but in the void. The significance of a room is not the walls but in what is framed by the walls; that is to say, we had to create a room of stillness, a room of stillness where nothing intrudes on those who want to find stillness. In a way, that was a help because it meant that we could perhaps virtually do without symbols if, on the other hand, we achieved purity.

United Nations Meditation Room

"Finally, we felt that if, within the framework, we could achieve absolute purity of line and color, we could realize all we wanted, a room of stillness with perhaps one very simple symbol-light shining on stone. It is for that reason that in the center of the room there is this block of iron ore, shimmering like ice in a shaft of light from above. That is the only symbol in the room — a meeting of the light of the sky and the earth.

"However, in a certain sense the symbolism goes one step further. I do not know whether there is anything elsewhere quite like the arrangement of this room with a big block of stone in the center. The origin of the idea was one which I think you will all recognize; you will find it in many great religions; it is the altar. In this case it is an empty altar, empty not because there is no God, but empty because God is worshiped in so many forms. The stone in the center symbolizes an altar to the God of all. . . . We want to do that by the form of our altar in such a way as to bring to everybody's mind the fact that every single one of us is faced, in the handling of the heritage of the riches of this earth, with the choice between the ploughshare and the sword."

Who brought the Meditation Room into being?

Astonishing to relate, no such room was included in the original plans for the new United Nations buildings located on the East River between 42nd and 45th Streets in New York.

Ever since 1948, the Laymen's League for a Christian World had been insistent that a meditation room be included wherever the United Nations was meeting. Dr. Weyman Huckabee, the league's UN representative, succeeded, after appealing to other nongovernmental representatives to help him, in obtaining a small room at the third assembly of the UN, held in Paris at the Palais Chaillot. Typically French, the room with its pleated wall coverings and a large plant growing on a central support, was used again in 1951 at the sixth UN assembly session. Dr. Huckabee also was successful in insisting on a moment of meditation at the opening and closing sessions of the UN assemblies.

When the permanent buildings were built, a larger group was formed, the Friends of the UN Meditation Room. Through its efforts, $15,000 was raised for a rebuilding of the room at the UN headquarters.

Under the personal and daily supervision of the secretary general, the room is kept in beautiful order. UN guards, inside and out-

(*Continued on page 30*)

BEHIND THE NEWS

California churches' victory in loyalty oath cases leaves religious freedom issue undecided

By FRANK B. FREDERICK

Frank B. Frederick, legal counsel for the American Unitarian Association, herewith analyzes the June 30 decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which overturned California legal provisions requiring the signing of a loyalty oath in order to make churches eligible for tax exemptions. The association filed an amicus curiae *brief in cases involving Unitarian churches.*

The Supreme Court of the United States handed down decisions June 30, 1958, in four cases, thereby resolving certain disputes which long had received the watchful attention of churchmen and others, at home and abroad.

On that date, our highest court declared unenforceable the state of California's recent practices requiring loyalty oaths as a prerequisite to the enjoyment of exemption from state taxes. The decisions dealt with issues of great importance to the cause of religious and civil liberties.

The First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, the Valley Unitarian-Universalist Church, the First Unitarian Church of Berkeley, the First Unitarian Church of San Jose, and the American Unitarian Association were parties to the litigation in the California courts. The association presented an argument in the Supreme Court of the state of California and filed a brief *amicus curiae* in the Supreme Court of the United States. Not all the cases that were considered in California were taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, inasmuch as the issues in the church cases were the same.

The California Supreme Court upheld the validity of the required loyalty oath. The Supreme Court of the United States reversed the decisions of the California court.

The decision in the four cases which were decided in Washington established the law, and the relief granted thereby became available to all litigants in California.

In two of the cases, the petitioners before the Supreme Court of the United States were churches, the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles and the Valley Unitarian-Universalist Church of Van Nuys. Those churches were before the court because they, or their officials, declined to take the loyalty oath which the state of California imposed on applicants for certain tax exemptions.

The association urged the court to free the churches from the attempt to restrict the time-honored, tax-free status of religious organizations, asserting that questions of freedom of religion and separation of church and state were involved.

Traditional exemption denied

The background of the California loyalty oath cases is this: California traditionally has granted tax-exempt status to religious organizations. In the general election of 1952, the voters of California adopted an amendment[1] to their state constitution which read, in part, as follows:

> *"Notwithstanding any other provision of this Constitution, no person or organization which advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or the State by force or violence or other unlawful means or who advocates the support of a foreign government against the United States in the event of hostilities shall:*
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *"(b) Receive any exemption from any tax imposed by this State or any county, city or county, city, district, political subdivision, authority, board, bureau, commission or other public agency of this State.*
>
> *"The Legislature shall enact such laws as may be necessary to enforce the provisions of this section."*

To implement this constitutional amendment, the California legislature enacted a statute[2] which required that claimants for certain exemptions from property taxes sign a declaration that the claimant "does not advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means nor advocate the support of a foreign government against the United States in the event of hostilities. . . ."

The statute further provided that if any claimant failed to make such a declaration, the exemption would not be received and that "any person or organization who makes such declaration knowing it to be false is guilty of a felony." The statute applied to all who might be exempt from property taxes except those who enjoyed the state's "householder's exemption."

Believing that the requirement constituted a threat to religious liberty, the churches crossed out the oath on the forms for application for exemption before submitting them. The exemptions were denied. The churches then paid the taxes under protest and sued in the California courts to recover them. After the Supreme Court of California upheld the validity of the requirement, the churches were granted a review of the cases by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the meantime, two residents of California, honorably discharged veterans of World War II, had taken a similar course of action with respect to the exemption from property taxes given to veterans in that state. They, too, had refused to sign the oath appearing on their application forms. Similar litigation followed, and their cases were reviewed by the Supreme Court of the United States together with the church cases. Hence, the four decisions June 30.

Decisions inconclusive

From the viewpoint of those particularly interested in the questions of religious liberty, the decisions, albeit gratifying in the result, were somewhat inconclusive.

The majority of the court decided the veterans' cases primarily upon the following grounds: the denial of tax exemption to claimants who engage in certain kinds of speech or advocacy was, in effect, to penalize speech, to infringe upon freedom of speech, or to have "the effect of coercing the claimants to refrain from the prescribed speech." The court acknowledged that there were limits to freedom of speech and that in some cases speech might be made unlawful, but asserted that:

> *"When the State undertakes to restrain unlawful advocacy it must provide procedures which are adequate to safeguard against infringement of constitutionally protected rights. . . . Moreover, since only considerations of the greatest urgency can justify restrictions on speech, and since the validity of a restraint on speech in each case depends on careful analysis of the particular circumstances, . . . the procedures by which the facts of the case are adjudicated are of special importance and the validity of the restraint may turn on the safeguards which they afford."*

The court then scrutinized the procedures adopted by California and concluded that "throughout the (California's) judicial and administrative proceedings the burden lies on the taxpayer of persuading the assessor, or the court, that he falls outside the class denied the tax exemption." Thus, the court concluded that this "allocation of the burden of proof, on an issue concerning freedom of speech," constituted a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States which reads, ". . . nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." The "liberty" most concerned was that

(*Continued on page 30*)

[1] Article XX, §19 of the California constitution.

[2] Section 32 of the Revenue and Taxation Code.

BILLS STILL MUST BE PAID

Bills incurred in the battle of four churches, three of them Unitarian, for judicial overthrow of California legislation requiring a special loyalty oath as a condition of tax exemption, still must be paid, even though the battle has been won, the Fund for Religious Freedom emphasized.

Representatives of the fund noted that the struggle was more than local — it served to help protect the rights of liberal churches everywhere.

More than $20,000 in legal costs were incurred to conduct the case through the Supreme Court of the United States.

Contributions may be sent to the Fund for Religious Freedom, 2441 Le Conte Avenue, Berkeley 9, California.

THE CHURCHES

WHO ARE THESE UNITARIANS?

Some surprising replies were received when the First Unitarian Society of San Francisco attempted to answer the perennial question: What kind of people are Unitarians?

In order to fit the program of the church more fully to the needs of the congregation, a committee sent a questionnaire to members asking information on a variety of subjects from marital status to general interests. While some of the answers might have been predicted, others were unexpected and may have far reaching effects on the programming of the church.

The committee found that less than half (48.5 per cent) of the congregation is married, a much lower proportion than in the population at large. Unitarians generally view themselves as family people, and plan their activities accordingly. The committee reported that more than 50 per cent single membership is "a statistic that may have a great deal of significance for the planning of our church program."

Of the unmarried members of the church, 29 per cent are single, 12.5 per cent are divorced, and 8.5 per cent are widowed.

Adults outnumber children in the San Francisco church about two and one-half to one, whereas in churches in suburban areas or in small towns, children outnumber adults. Only 31 per cent of the families list children of school age, with an additional 14 per cent listing adult children. More than half (55 per cent) of the membership have no children.

Two-thirds of the children 14 or younger currently attend the church school.

A high proportion (about one-half) of the married women are gainfully employed. The majority of the congregation are employed in "white collar" work.

The questionnaire also asked individuals to list previous religious affiliation. Twelve per cent of the membership listed none. Other affiliations frequently named were Unitarian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Congregational, and various other Protestant sects.

Friendship with Unitarians and the fact the church possesses liberal religious views were two high scorers in reply to the question: why did you first go to the church?

'DAY-AWAY' IS POPULAR

A series of three one-day retreats for laymen of the Don Heights Congregation of Toronto, Ont., recently provided opportunity for discussion and fellowship among members of the new Unitarian church. The experimental "Day-Away" programs proved popular.

The retreats were held from 9:30 A.M. Saturday to 1:30 A.M. Sunday under the leadership of volunteer coördinators. The programs were simple, with time left for unorganized discussion and evening parties. The first two retreats dealt with such issues as "Why are we Unitarians?" and "Is there a Unitarian conformity?" and the third with techniques and problems of religious education.

The "Day-Away," held in one of the members homes, is designed for about fifteen participants, though more than that attended. "There were twenty-two people, besides the coördinator, myself, and the kitchen helpers at the last one," the Rev. J. Franklin Chidsey, minister, reported.

The idea for the programs came from a successful all-day training program for church school teachers held by the Don Heights church.

Mr. Chidsey wrote that he believes that the Don Heights Congregation has only begun to tap the possibilities of the technique.

HINSDALE CREATES A SYMBOL

Inspired by Edwin Markham's familiar poem, "Outwitted," members of the Unitarian Church of Hinsdale, Illinois, have designed a unique symbol for their fellowship.

The symbol illustrates the quatrain:

"He drew a circle that shut me out —
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But Love and I had the wit to win:
We drew a circle that took him in."

Dr. Sunder Joshi, minister, suggested the poem as a motto for the church.

The symbol consists of a ring with a smaller ring tangent within it. The smaller ring contains a sphere, touching the contact point of the two rings. Another sphere separates the two rings opposite their contact point.

The church is making and selling jewelry based on the symbol. Unitarians interested in obtaining a descriptive circular on the jewelry may write Mrs. C. L. Emrick, in care of the church.

PARISH, PULPIT AND PEW

Anniversary celebrations in Unitarian churches are taking place at such a rapid rate that it is difficult to note them all. Of special interest are those which commemorate the end of a first year, a first decade, or a first hundred years. This month the following special anniversaries are being observed:

Tenth Anniversary — Unitarian Church of Fort Worth, Texas.

Sixtieth Anniversary — Unitarian Church of Lincoln, Nebraska.

Three-hundredth!!! Anniversary — First Parish Church of Billerica, Massachusetts.

Congratulations to those and all other Unitarian churches marking a fruitful year of Unitarianism.

Puzzling indeed was the sermon subject in the Joliet Universalist order of service. Puzzling only in that it defied inclusion in the list of interesting sermon titles (since it may well have been a misprint), yet deserving of some mention in this column: "Treasurers That Last."

From the Don Heights (Toronto, Ontario) Unitarian bulletin comes an urge to buy the *Saturday Evening Post* featuring Dr. Paul Tillich's article "Lost Dimensions in Religion." It adds, "An existential inducement is a picture survey of French thespian Brigette Bardot, for those of you who appreciate great theatre."

When Mrs. Eugene Tangert conducted worship services at the Unitarian-Universalist Church of Buffalo, New York, she was assisted by her daughter, Valerie, who played the organ. Up with the eyebrow, Dr. Gesell: Valerie is nine years old!

It was only fitting and proper that Franz Gross and Lucy Marston of the Unitarian-Universalist Church of Amherst should be married last June 12. They were graduated from Swarthmore College, where they received the medals presented to the outstanding man and woman graduates of their class.

A record of actual discussion which took place during an Alliance meeting in 1908 enabled the members of the present Alliance of the First Parish Church of Scituate, Massachusetts, to present a faithful recreation of that event, complete with dialogue and costumes. Now, as then, the minister's wife played the minister's wife.

Music for the carillon of the Brussels World Fair includes concerts presented by the organist of the First Unitarian Church of Oklahoma City.

MARGARET F. LA MAR

THE FELLOWSHIPS

FIVE FELLOWSHIPS AFFILIATE

Five fellowships have affiliated with the American Unitarian Association since June, bringing the total of active fellowships to 250.

The new groups are: Main Line Unitarian Fellowship, Radnor, Pa.; Unitarian Fellowship of Pensacola, Fla.; Unitarian Fellowship of the Northern Valley, Closter, N. J.; Unitarian Fellowship of Bristol, Va.; and Unitarian Society of Mexico City, Mexico.

The East Lansing, Michigan, fellowship has merged with the Lansing Universalist Church to form the Universalist-Unitarian Church of Greater Lansing. It is affiliated with the AUA and the Universalist Church of America.

ALASKA UNITARIANS MEET

Forty-one adults and children attended the first Alaska Unitarian Conference held at Kenai Lake, July 4-6.

The camp-out conference was planned by members of the Fairbanks and Anchorage fellowships. James E. Fisher, Anchorage, was conference chairman and Hank Thomson, Fairbanks, assisted.

Plans are being made for a second conference next summer. It is hoped that Unitarians touring the 49th state will make the Alaska Unitarian Conference a stopping point.

The Rev. Carl Storm, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and the Rev. Victor Goff, regional director of the Pacific Coast Unitarian Council, were visiting speakers at the conference.

A UNITARIAN IN WASHINGTON

By MARY HILLYER BLANSHARD

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Washington children are back in our integrated schools, the halls of Congress are empty, and even Perle Mesta would have difficulty in rounding up a cocktail party of distinguished senators and congressmen — they are all in the hustings, campaigning to re-elect themselves, build their fences, or help elect their party friends. The 85th Congress has bowed out and the 86th Congress is still in the hands of the electorate.

I suppose it is the price one pays for being an *avant garde* optimist in the field of social justice that forces one to look backward with sorrow at the things left undone as each congress draws to a close. But simultaneously one can look forward with hope to the new Congress.

Cast a backward glance at the work of the last half of the 85th Congress and what do you remember? First, there were all the hearings on corruption, from Hoffa and Beck and trade union irresponsibility to the Federal Communications Commission, and the strange lack of moral sensitivity on the part of Sherman Adams. Then there was the fight on the Kennedy-Ives labor bill.

Finally, there were the surprise headlines of the landings in Lebanon.

We can rejoice that the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill was passed without the sizeable cuts originally imposed by the House. We have reaffirmed our commitments in the Reciprocal Trade Treaty. At long last the Humane Slaughter Bill has been passed with an exemption for kosher-ritual killing. The aid-to-science educational scholarship bill is a law from fear rather than wisdom, fear of Soviet progress in science. The far more basic aid-to-education bills for school construction and increases in teachers' salaries were killed in committee. The Kennedy-Ives labor bill to prevent union and employer misconduct was defeated after a long partisan wrangle.

This was a "preparedness first" Congress, with the President coming out victoriously with his Pentagon reorganization bill and enormous funds for war, space agencies, and satellites. For peace, we still have unfinished business, but it is good to report that the Humphrey Committee on Disarmament carries on for another six months.

Alaska the 49th state — when Hawaii?

It was an exciting night in the Senate chamber in late June when Senator Richard Neuberger of Oregon presided and the Senate voted in Alaska as the 49th state. It was the end of a long, hard battle to end colonialism in the far north for the Stars and Stripes.

Mary Hillyer Blanshard is Washington representative of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice and the wife of Paul Blanshard, author of Beacon Press best-sellers. Information about the UFSJ is available from its headquarters at Sixteenth and Harvard Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.

To many persons goes the credit for the victory but in the vanguard is Ernest Gruening, former governor of Alaska and "senator" from Alaska under the "Tennessee" plan. The election campaign is in full swing there now, carried on by plane from town to town, with three coveted seats on Capitol Hill involved in the contest. Gruening is running against the present appointed governor, Mike Stepovic.

When the 86th Congress convenes, there will be a concerted drive to bring Hawaii into the Union. Stock arguments against statehood — (1) We are afraid of the left-wing waterfront unions; (2) Hawaiians are not Americans — they don't even look American with their un-Caucasian mixture — sound hollow and decadent when we are trying unilaterally and through the United Nations to help the common man by raising his standard of living, and to prevent war by recognizing that all men, regardless of race, color, or creed, are brothers.

Protestant, Jew, Catholic, and birth control

The flat denial of birth control therapy, when prescribed by a doctor for his diabetic Protestant patient in a New York City hospital, under a Jewish commissioner of hospitals in a city whose mayor is a Catholic, has aroused nationwide concern.

To the defense of the doctor in asserting his right to use his medical knowledge, and to the succor of the Protestant woman whose health would be permanently impaired without the proper precautions, have come some of the most distinguished and influential groups of religious leaders in the country.

The Protestant Council of New York City asked for an audience with Dr. Morris Jacobs, New York's commissioner of hospitals. They were turned down at first, later seen but promised nothing. (The mayor was conveniently out of town during the first fracas; later he passed the buck to the city's hospital board.) Various Jewish groups issued statements caustically criticizing a city hospital which imposed the medical code of one religious group on all of its patients. The only support for this medically dangerous and scientifically indefensible action came from a group of Catholic organizations, including the Catholic Physicians Guild.

At this writing, an *ad hoc* committee headed by Leo Pfeffer of the American Jewish Congress—remembered by Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice delegates to the Washington Workshop for his learned talk on church and state — has been formed. The committee is determined to see that all of the citizens in New York City are properly served by the New York City hospitals.

Inflation and where it hurts most

We still live in an economy that defies the best graph makers in higher economics. We continue to suffer from unemployment — a nationwide survey recently completed at the University of Michigan reveals that one in every four families has had its income curtailed through unemployment or the short work week. Simultaneously, inflation, which we have been softened to accept in a not too subliminal way, is here to stay. The soothsayers report the depression is over and inflation is *about* to begin.

Congress attempted to meet some of the attendant problems of depression and inflation by increasing social security benefits, a housing program, grants to the states to extend unemployment benefits, and to the impacted areas of federal developments.

Let the atom bombs fall!

Let's get it over with. Let's have that war for which we have been making atom and hydrogen bombs all these years! The news came from Burlington, Vermont, but it happened in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, at the National Laboratory. A pill has been successfully tested which will cut in half the deleterious biological effects of atomic radiation. The compound is called AET for short — its chemical name runs for two full lines in the *New York Times*. A nation which is deluded by cigarette filter advertising can swallow this one, too!

Now is the time to mend fences

Now is the time to mend those legislative fences — your fences. Your congressmen and senators are home. It is not too early to let them know what you hope they will support in the 86th Congress when it convenes in January, 1959.

From a long-range view, no action by the senate will be of greater importance than the modification of Rule 22, which permits unlimited debate and allows a filibuster at any hour of the day or night to continue without interruption. Senator Paul Douglas long ago introduced a resolution to modify this rule. Two Republican senators, Javits of New York and Case of New Jersey, have given warning that they intend to press for the passage of that resolution early in the new senate. It deserves support.

Senator Neuberger introduced a bill in June to bring members of Congress under the "conflict of interest" law that governs cabinet officers and other high officials of the government. He strongly believes that there should be a code "to help subdue and discourage the illegitimate and harmful use of influence in government." Undoubtedly such legislation will be introduced into the new congress to mitigate the questionable ethics of the elected Powells and the appointed Adamses.

THE MINISTRY

MEDITATION ROOM IS ISSUE

Sharp disagreement arose when the Rev. Arnold Thaw, minister of the Unitarian Church of Natick, Massachusetts, suggested that a non-denominational meditation room should include scriptures of all great religions and non-ecclesiastical writings.

The meditation room was sponsored by the Natick Council of Churches for a local hospital. Although funds for the room were raised on the assurance that it would be completely non-denominational, the council decided to include only Jewish and Christian scriptures.

In the regular minister's column of the local newspaper, Mr. Thaw stated that he believed Natick was missing a chance to foster respect for all men and faiths by limiting the room to Western religion.

Mr. Thaw was quickly invited to a special meeting of the local ministers' association, at which he was rebuked sharply for critizing an action of the Council of Churches in the column. Mr. Thaw cast the sole dissenting vote against a motion stating that henceforth the column never should contain criticism of the council or the ministers' association.

In a statement to the association, Mr. Thaw said, "If a minister is to present his ideas honestly . . . he must be free to bring his judgment to bear on moral and religious issues in Natick, including issues which have to do with the Council of Churches or any other group."

He concluded, "A church organization, like any other organization, can grow and become strong only if it is able to tolerate searching and constructive criticism, from within and from without."

TWO SERMONS IN *RECORD*

Sermons by two Unitarian ministers were entered in the *Congressional Record* during the summer. One was by Dr. J. Ford Lewis, of the First Unitarian Church of Portland, Oregon. The other was by the Rev. Karl M. Chworowsky, of the First Unitarian Church of Fairfield County, Westport, Connecticut.

Dr. Lewis' sermon, concerning ethics in government, was titled "I Am the State." It was entered in the *Record* by Senator Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon. The title of Mr. Chworowsky's sermon was "Israel's 10th Anniversary: Its Theological Significance." It was entered by Representative Abraham J. Multer of New York.

"Our system of government," Dr. Lewis stated in his sermon, ". . . is based on the ethical realization that no individual is free to perform any act which would be socially undesirable if practiced by the general population."

He continued: "Democracy will never work properly until the average citizen feels the same deep and abiding loyalty toward the principles of fairness and freedom embodied in the state that the citizens of ancient monarchies felt toward a good and just king."

"Freedom atrophies unless it is used," Dr. Lewis said. "Conversely, the consistent use of free institutions is their best defense."

Dr. Lewis concluded: "I am the state, and I must understand my relationship to the whole in just those terms or no civic obligation ever quite focuses on me. The moment I say, 'We are the state,' my personal involvement begins to fade and drift, and it is an easy step to the passive philosophy so common among us, 'They are the state.' "

Mr. Chworowsky stated in his sermon that the tenth anniversary of Israel offers a three-fold challenge to the non-Jewish world.

"It is a challenge to know and understand better the whole pattern of Jewish history . . . a challenge of Zionism to our age . . . a challenge to meet . . . the problem of assuring and maintaining the independence and security of the new Jewish state," he said.

"Jewish history did not end with Old Testament history. Israel has been a leaven and inspiration despite its status as a 'no people,' a wanderer to both the East and West."

Mr. Chworowsky added: "Isn't it time we recognized the Jewish claim to political self-determination as a people and to nationhood as on the same level with similar claims of other peoples and nationalities?"

In conclusion, Mr. Chworowsky said: " 'Israel is here to stay;' it is our duty, the sacred duty of the whole civilized world to assure her status as an independent commonwealth in her ancient homeland."

OF THE MINISTERS

John A. Crane, Jr., called to *Santa Barbara, Calif.*
J. Donald Johnston called as executive director and ministerial associate to *Montgomery County, Md.*
Edwin A. Lane called to *Merchantville, N. J.*
Russell L. Lincoln called to *San Mateo, Calif.*
Napoleon W. Lovely called to *Cedar Rapids, Iowa.*
Anders S. Lunde called to *Philadelphia, Pa.*
Wilburn B. Miller called to *Portland, Me.*
Virgil E. Murdock called to *Westford, Mass.*
Zoltan Nagy called to *Fairhaven, Mass.*
Walter B. Pedersen called to *Birmingham, Mich.*
Fred Rutledge called to *Petersham, Mass.*
Edward A. Smith called to *Houlton, Me.*
Charles S. Stephen called to *Billerica, Mass.*
Arnold Westwood called to *Westport, Conn.*
Clara Cook Helvie died, Middleboro, Mass., July 22.
J. William Hudson died, May 11.
Howard Polakow died, Somerville, Mass., July 13.
J. Adams Puffer died, Berlin, Mass., July 27.

SEVEN RULES FOR SERMONS

Sermonizing for Unitarians is a difficult task. The minister must consider not only Freedom, Reason, and Tolerance, but also the fact that the church needs painting.

The Rev. J. Frank Schulman, Youngstown, Ohio, has devised a formula for success. For the benefit of laymen delivering their first sermons, young ministers in their first parishes, and experienced ministers who find ice cubes and sour cream in their coffee after church, here are his rules:

1. Be sufficiently vague that everyone will see his own thoughts in your sermon — no matter that what he thinks flatly contradicts everything you say.
2. Condemn in the abstract, so each person will think, "Aha! He's really telling them (i.e., everyone but me) off!"
3. Always say a good word for social justice. This puts you on the side of right and doesn't harm your reputation, as long as you don't suggest concrete action.
4. Speak condescendingly of neo-orthodoxy. This establishes you as both an intellectual and liberal without endangering your theological position, since neither you nor your congregation knows what neo-orthodoxy is.
5. Don't worry if some people don't like your sermon. It is a well known fact that a person complains in inverse proportion to the amount he gives to the church.
6. You can avoid the humanist-theist controversy by assuming a confusing label — calling yourself a theohumanist or simply an Emersonian.
7. Limit your sermon to twenty-two minutes and repeat each point three times.

REV. HOWARD POLAKOW DIES

The Rev. Howard Polakow, 48, minister of the First Church in Somerville, Massachusetts, died July 13 after a long illness.

Mr. Polakow was born in Chicago and educated at Northwestern University and Meadville Theological School. He had served the Somerville church since 1955, going there from Harlingen, Texas. He was to have become the minister of the Canton, Massachusetts, Unitarian church August 1.

Rev. Harold K. Shelley, regional director for southern New England, represented the American Unitarian Association at the services for Mr. Polakow.

'DO-IT-YOURSELF' INSTALLATION

Many months without a minister, in which the congregation operated on a "do-it-yourself" basis, so increased the proficiency of members of the First Unitarian Church of Leominster, Massachusetts, in church matters that they installed a new minister without outside ministerial help.

The new minister is the Rev. Joseph Howard Giunta. The act of installation was performed by Donald Fleming, chairman of the parish committee, and George Barton offered the installation prayer. Winthrop M. Mayo, Jr., was master of ceremonies. Numerous other parishioners participated.

RECORDED SERMONS ISSUED

"Circulating Sermons," recorded addresses by the Rev. William P. Jenkins of the First Unitarian Congregation, Toronto, Ontario, are being produced for regular distribution to fellowships and isolated Unitarians.

The idea for "Circulating Sermons" originated in a letter to the editor of the *Canadian Unitarian*. Bruce Robinson wrote: "Printed sermons and letters are fine for study, but they lack the spiritual impact of the spoken word. Now I have worked out methods that I think will help." The methods were the recorded sermons, already used successfully by several groups.

THOUGHTS FOR MEDITATION

Edited by Jacob Trapp

BEGINNING OUR STUDIES

The True End of Education

The true end of education is to unfold and direct aright our whole nature. The young are to be encouraged, as far as possible, to be their own teachers. They are to be helped to help themselves. We think it a greater work to educate a child, in the true and large sense of that phrase, than to rule a state.

William Ellery Channing

Many Voices

Parents are not the only educators of their offspring, but must divide the work with numerous others. In this we rejoice; for, were the young confined to domestic influences, each generation would be a copy of the preceding. The child is not born to hear but a few voices. He is brought into a vast, an infinite school. The whole universe is charged with the office of his education. Innumerable voices come to him from all he meets, sees, feels. Nature, society, experience, are volumes opened everywhere and perpetually before his eyes.

William Ellery Channing

Sympathy with Intelligence

The highest that we can attain to is not Knowledge, but Sympathy with Intelligence. I do not know that this higher knowledge amounts to anything more definite than a novel and grand surprise on a sudden revelation of the insufficiency of all that we called Knowledge before — a discovery that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in our philosophy. It is the lighting up of the mist by the sun.

Henry David Thoreau

Sensitivity

In the last analysis this sensitizing of the human mind and soul is the most important task of education. We may forget facts; dates may slip from our minds; but the experiences we have had in wrestling with the thoughts of great men, in whatever art, remain with us forever. And perhaps this spiritual development, this rendering of the soul sensitive to beauty, this tenderness, compassion and understanding which come from intimate association with beauty, is the ideal goal of education in a democracy.

Howard Hanson

Beginning My Studies

Beginning my studies the first step pleased me so much,
The mere fact of consciousness, these forms, the power of motion,
The least insect or animal, the senses, the eyesight, love, —
The first step I say awed me and pleased me so much,
I have hardly gone and hardly wished to go any farther,
But stop and loiter all the time to sing it in ecstatic songs.

Walt Whitman

Relation in Education

The relation in education is one of pure dialogue.

I have referred to the child, lying with half-closed eyes waiting for his mother to speak to him. But many children do not need to wait, for they know that they are unceasingly addressed in a dialogue that never breaks off. In face of the lonely night which threatens to invade, they lie preserved and guarded, invulnerable, clad in the silver mail of trust.

Trust, trust in the world, because this human being exists — that is the most inward achievement of the relation in education. Because this human being exists, meaninglessness, however hard pressed you are by it, cannot be the real truth. Because this human being exists, in the darkness the light lies hidden, in fear salvation, and in the callousness of one's fellow-men the great Love.

Because this human being exists: therefore he must be really there, really facing the child, not merely there in spirit. He may not allow himself to be represented by a phantom; the death of the phantom would be a catastrophe for the child's pristine soul. He need possess none of the perfections which the child may dream he possesses; but he must be really there. In order to be and to remain present to the child he must have gathered the child's presence into his own store as one of the bearers of his communion with the world, one of the focuses of his responsibilities for the world. Of course he cannot be continually concerned with the child, either in thought or in deed, nor ought he to be. But if he has really gathered the child into his life then that subterranean dialogue, that steady potential presence of the one to the other is established and endures. Then there is reality *between* them, there is mutuality.

Martin Buber

Prayer

Spirit of Beauty, whose revelations come to us through our response to the richness and the grandeur of this our world, be within us this day as the wonder and the welcome of the living soul.

Touch our eyes that we may see.

Touch our hearts that we may feel.

Quicken our minds that our thoughts may be enlivened with the rich variety of thy Word, that inwardly we may hear thy many voices, that our wonder and curiosity may be deepened with thy growing revelation.

Be within us as the vision of greatness and the aspiration to fashion all things nearer to our dream of perfection.

Be within us as compassionate insight, as hope and faith and courage and love, and as an inward peace which the cares of this world cannot take away.

May quiet thoughts dwell in our minds this day, bringing us closer to the great meanings and realities of life, and lifting us to new levels of insight and understanding. Amen.

Algeria

Torture — the question for all men

By JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

translated by Malcolm McCorquodale

Jean-Paul Sartre, the noted French existentialist philosopher and writer, wrote this article for the Paris weekly l'Express. *The American magazine* Forum, *which published Malcolm McCorquodale's translation, has granted permission to reprint it here.*

In 1943, on the rue Lauriston (location of a Nazi torture center), Frenchmen cried out in anguish and pain; all of France heard them. The outcome of the war was uncertain and we did not want to think of the future. But one thing at all events appeared impossible: that one day men would be made to cry out in our name.

"Impossible" is not French; in 1958, in Algeria, there is regular and systematic torture; everyone knows it, from Mr. Lacoste to the cultivators of the Aveyron; no one talks about it. Or almost no one. Nets of voices unravel in silence.

France was scarcely more silent under the Occupation; then, at least, she had the excuse that she was wearing a gag. Abroad, the conclusion is that we have continually degenerated — since 1939 according to some, since 1918 according to others.

That is easily said; I do not believe as easily in the degeneration of a people. I do believe in its apathies and stupors. During the war, when the British radio and the clandestine press spoke to us of Oradour, we looked at the German soldiers who walked about with an inoffensive air and said to ourselves from time to time: "These are men who, in spite of everything, resemble us. How can they do what they are doing?" And we were proud because we did not understand.

Today, we know that there is nothing to understand. We were all unconscious of the imperceptible retreats, and then, when we looked up, we saw in the mirror the face of a hateful stranger: our own face.

Executioners are victims

Plunged into stupor, the French have uncovered a terrible fact. If nothing protects a nation against itself, neither its past, its integrity, or its laws — if 15 years are enough to change victims into executioners — it means that the occasion alone will decide. According to the circumstances, anyone, anytime, will become either the victim or the executioner.

Happy are those who died without having to ask themselves: "If they pull out my nails, will I talk?" But still happier are those who, scarcely removed from childhood, have not been forced to ask themselves the other question: "If my friends, my brothers-in-arms, my chiefs, pull out before my eyes the nails of an enemy, what will I do?"

The young men who are stripped bare by circumstances — what do they know of themselves? The resolutions they make in France appear empty and abstract the day an unforeseen situation places them, in their entirety, in question, when they must decide in North Africa, alone, for France and for themselves.

They leave France and others return, others who have taken the measure of their own impotence and remain, most of them, bitterly silent. Fear is born, fear of the others and fear of one's self. It reaches all levels. The victim and the executioner now form a single image, our image. Indeed, in extreme cases, the only way to refuse one of the two roles is to claim the other.

The cyst and the knife

This choice is not imposed — or not yet — on the Frenchmen of France, but the state of indetermination weighs upon us. Because of it, we are "the cyst and the knife." The horror of becoming the latter and the fear of becoming the former summon and reinforce each other.

Memories return; 15 years ago, the best of the Resistance feared suffering less than giving in to suffering. They said: "When he does not talk, the victim saves everything; when he does, none has the right to judge him, even those who did not — but he couples with his executioner, and this embracing couple is engulfed in the night of abjection."

The night of abjection has returned. At El Biar, it returns every night; in France, it is the sweat of our hearts. A whispered propaganda gives us to understand that "everybody talks": torture is justified by human ignorance. Because each one of us is a traitor in power, the executioner which is in each of us should not feel ill at ease. Because the grandeur of France requires it (sugary voices tell us every day). And because a good patriot must have a clear conscience. And because you are a defeatist if you have a bad conscience.

Stupor becomes despair

At once, stupor becomes despair. If patriotism must precipitate us into abjection, if there is no railing, somewhere, sometime, to stop nations or all of humanity from pouring into the inhuman — then why should we go to so much trouble to become or remain men? The inhuman is our truth. And if nothing else is true, if we must terrorize or die of terror, why should we go to the trouble of living and remaining patriots?

These thoughts have been forcefully engendered in us; obscure and false, they all flow from the same principle: man is inhuman. Their goal is to convince us of our impotence. They succeed as long as one does not look at them directly. It must be known abroad that our silence is not assent; it stems from nightmares, provoked, maintained, and directed.

Some weeks ago, a book was published by the Editions de Minuit: *The Question.* Its author, Henri Alleg, confined to this day in a prison in Algiers, tells without superfluous comments and with admirable precision of the "interrogations" he has undergone. The executioners, as they had promised him, "took care of him": water torture (as in Brinvilliers' day, but with the technical perfection required by our times), fire torture, thirst, and so forth.

It is a book not to recommend to the sensitive. The first edition, of 20,000, sold out immediately; in spite of a second hasty printing, the demand cannot be satisfied. Certain bookstores sell fifty to a hundred copies per day.

Up to now, those who dared bear witness were former soldiers recalled to duty, especially priests. They had lived in the same circles as the torturers, their brothers, our brothers; of the victims most often they knew only the cries, the wounds, the suffering. They showed us sadists bent over tattered flesh. And what distinguishes us from these sadists? Nothing, since we remain silent.

Our indignation appears sincere to us; would we have remained indignant had we lived there, in North Africa? Would indignation not have given way to universal disgust, to a dismal resignation? I read out of duty, published at times, and detested these reports which put us on trial and which left no hope.

The Question

Everything changes with *The Question:* Alleg delivers us from despair and shame because he is a victim who has vanquished torture. This turnabout is not without a glimmer of sinister humor; he is martyrized in our name, and because of him, we finally regain a little of our pride. We are proud because he is French.

Readers passionately identify with him; they accompany him to the limit of suffering. Would they, would we, be capable of it in fact? That is another matter. What counts is that the victim delivers us by causing us to discover, as he discovers himself, that we have the power and the duty to endure everything.

We are fascinated by the pit of the inhuman. But one hard and stubborn man who persists in his task of being a man is enough to snatch us back from madness. The "question" is not inhuman but simply an ignoble and vicious crime committed by men against men, which other men can and ought to repress.

The inhuman has no existence outside nightmares engendered by fear. And the calm courage of a victim, his modesty, his lucidity, awaken us and thereby lift the veil of mystery. Alleg has taken torture out of the night which covered it. Let us approach to look at it in the light of day.

First, what are these executioners? Sadists? Angry archangels? Princes of war with terrifying caprices? If one believes them, they are something of all of these. But Alleg does not believe them. What emerges from the statements he reports is that they are trying to convince themselves and the victim of their absolute sovereignty.

Now they are supermen who have men in their power, now they are severe, strong men charged with training the most obscene, ferocious, cowardly of beasts, the human being. We sense that they are not looking at the matter too closely; what is essential is to make the prisoner feel that he is not of their race. He is undressed, tied, mocked; soldiers come and go, proffering insults and threats with a nonchalance they try to make terrible.

But Alleg, naked, trembling with cold, attached to a plank still black and sticky from previous torturings, reduces all these tricks to their pitiful truth; they are comedies acted out by imbeciles. Comedy, the fascist violence of their words, the oath to "blow the Republic sky high"; comedy, the proposal which closes with the words, "the only thing left for you is suicide." Coarse, frozen comedies begun again each night without conviction for each prisoner and stopped quickly, for lack of time. For these horrible workers are overtaxed by their task, overburdened. The prisoners stand in line before the torture plank, they are tied, untied; the victims are taken from one torture room to another. Looking at this filthy hive through Alleg's eyes, we perceive that the torturers are swamped by what they are doing.

They play at being calm, drink beer, relaxed over a martyrized body; and then suddenly jump to their feet, run about, swearing, screaming with rage; big nervous types who would make excellent victims. At the first tickle, they would start talking. Malicious and enraged, that much is certain; sadists? No, not so much as that; they are too much in a hurry. That is what saves them, moreover; they hold on by momentum, they have to keep running or collapse.

Nevertheless, they like work well done. If they judge it necessary, they will push professional conscience to killing. And this is what is striking in Alleg's narrative: behind these haggard and grotesque surgeons, one senses an inflexibility which surpasses them and surpasses their superiors.

None of these men exists by himself, not one will remain as he is: there are moments of inexorable transformation. Between the best and the worst there is a single difference: the former are the new recruits, the latter the old ones. They will all finally go away, and if the war continues, others will replace them, blond fellows from the North or short brown-haired fellows from the South. They will go through the same apprenticeship and attain the same violence and the same nervousness.

Ruled by anonymous hate

Individuals do not count in this business; a sort of errant, anonymous hate, a radical hate, locks its teeth in both the victims and the executioners, degrading them together, each by the other. Torture is that hate, erected into a system, creating itself by its own instruments.

When you say this, ever so timidly, in the assembly, the pack runs wild: "You are insulting the army." Someone should ask them once and for all what exactly the army has to do with it. There is torture in the army, that is certain. The *Commission de Sauvegarde* did not feel obliged to hide it. And so what? Is it the army which tortures?

What foolishness! Do we think the civilians do not know the best methods? If that is all there is to it, let us have confidence in Algiers' police. Then, if you need an executioner-in-chief, the whole assembly has designated the man; it is not General M., named, nevertheless, by Alleg; it is Mr. Lacoste, the man with full powers. Everything is done through him, by him, at Bone as in Oran. All the men who died of suffering and horror in the building in El Biar, in the Villa S., died by his will. I am not the one who says it; it is said by the deputies, the government.

And, furthermore, the gangrene is spreading; it has crossed the sea; the rumor has spread that the question is asked in certain civil prisons in France. I do not know if these rumors are well-founded, but their persistence must have moved the public authorities, since it was solemnly asked during the trial of Ben Saddok if the accused had undergone tortures.

Torture is not civilian nor military nor specifically French. It is a disease which is ravaging our entire epoch. In the East as in the West there have been executioners. Not so long ago, Farkas was torturing Hungarians; the Poles do not hide the fact that their police, before Poznan, willingly put the question; as to what went on in Russia during Stalin's lifetime, the Khrushchev report is an unimpeachable witness. Yesterday, there was questioning in Nasser's prisons (of politicians who have since been raised with several scars to positions of eminence). Today, it is Cyprus and Algeria. In short, Hitler was just a forerunner.

You know what is said at times to justify the executioners: that you have got to accept tormenting one man if his avowals will save hundreds of lives. A

IDEA POOL

Definition of patriotism: *"Patriotism is not the fear of something; it is the love of something." — Adlai Stevenson to the American Legion at Asbury Park, New Jersey, August 28, 1952.*

Torture is a vain fury, born of fear; the secret is always out of reach

pretty hypocrisy. Alleg was no more a terrorist than Audin. The proof is that he is charged with attacking the security of the state.

Was it to save lives that he was tortured? No, they wanted to get out of him the address of the friend who had protected him. If he had talked, they would have put one more Communist behind bars, simply that.

And then, they arrest at random; every Moslem is "questionable" at will; most of those who are tortured say nothing because they have nothing to say — unless they consent to put an end to their suffering by telling a false story or accusing themselves of some unpunished crime with which it appears opportune to charge them.

As for those who could talk, it is well known that they don't. None, or almost. Audin, Alleg, Guerroudj — none of these opened his mouth. The torturers of El Biar are better informed on this point than we. One of them remarked after Alleg's first interrogation: "At least he gained one night to give his friends a chance to get away." And an officer, several days later: "For 10 years, for 15 years, they have had it in their heads that if they are caught, they will say nothing; there is no way to get it out of their heads."

Perhaps he was speaking only of Communists. But can we believe that an FLN combatant would be of a different stamp? These violences pay poor returns; the Germans in 1944 convinced themselves of it. They cost human lives and do not spare them.

Link to underground resistance

And yet the argument is not entirely false; in any case, it is enlightening as to the function of torture. The question, as a clandestine or semi-clandestine institution, is indissolubly linked to underground movements of resistance or opposition.

In Algeria, our army is deployed over the whole of the territory; we have the numbers, the money, and the arms. The insurgents have nothing — except confidence and the support of a large part of the population.

We have defined, in spite of ourselves, the principal traits of this popular war: attacks in villages, ambushes in the country. The FLN did not choose these activities; it does what it can, that is all. The relation of its forces to ours obliges it to attack us by surprise: invisible, impossible to seize, unexpected, it must strike and disappear on pain of extermination. Our uncomfortable situation stems from this. We are struggling against a secret adversary; a hand throws a bomb in the street, a rifle shot wounds one of our soldiers on the highway — we rush to the scene; no one there. Later, we will find in the surrounding area Moslems who have seen nothing.

One thing leads to another: the popular war, the war of the poor against the rich, is characterized by the close liaison between the insurrectional units and the population. By the same token, for the regular army and civil authorities, this poor swarm becomes the daily enemy, innumerable. The occupation troops worry about a mutism which they themselves have engendered; one senses an imperceptible, undefinable will to silence, a secret turning, omnipresent. The rich feel tracked among the poor who keep silent; embarrassed by their power, the "forces of order" can oppose nothing more to the guerrillas than mopping-up operations and reprisal expeditions, nothing more to terrorism than terror. Something is hidden, everywhere and by everyone. They must be made to *talk*.

Torture is a vain fury, born of fear: an effort to drag out of one throat everyone's secret. Useless violence; whether the victim talks or dies under the blows, the unnamable secret is elsewhere, always elsewhere, out of reach. The executioner becomes Sisyphus: if he applies the question, he will have to begin over and over again.

Even this silence, even this fear, even these ever invisible, ever present dangers cannot explain completely the desperate rancor of the executioners, their will to reduce their victim to abjection — and finally their hate of the man who has taken them over without their consent and who has fashioned them. When people kill themselves, this is the rule: beatings have always been for collective and private reasons. But in torture, this strange match, the stakes seem radical. It is for the claim of manhood that the torturer vies with his victim, and the contest is carried out as if the two could not both belong to humanity.

The goal of the question is not only to force the victim to talk, to betray; he must designate himself by his cries and his submission as a human beast. In the eyes of all and in his eyes, his betrayal must break him and dispose of him forever. No, it is not desired that the victim who gives in to the question simply talks; a status has been imposed forever, that of a subman.

This radicalization of the stakes is a trait of our epoch. It is what man is doing. In no other time has the will to be free been more conscious or stronger, in no other time the oppression more violent and better armed.

In Algeria, the contradictions are irreducible: each of the groups in conflict demands the complete exclusion of the other. We have taken everything from the Moslems, and we have forbidden them everything, including the use of their own language. Memmi has shown how colonization is realized in annulling the colonized. They had nothing left, they were *no longer anyone*. We have liquidated their civilization at the same time we refused them ours. They had asked for integration, assimilation, and we said no: by what miracle could colonial exploitation be maintained if the colonized enjoyed the same rights as the colonizers?

Underfed, neglected, poor, the system threw them back pitilessly to the confines of the Sahara, to the limits of the human. Under demographic pressure, their standard of living fell from one year to the next. When despair pushed them to revolt, they had to perish, these sub-men, or to affirm their humanity against us. They rejected all our values, our culture, our pretended superiorities, and it was one and the same thing for them to claim the title of man and to refuse French nationality.

Very existence in question

This rebellion was not limited to contesting the powers of the colonials; they felt their very existence was in question. For most of the Europeans in Algeria, there are two complementary and inseparable truths: the colonials are men of divine right, and the natives are submen. This is the mythical translation of a fact, since the rights of the former rest upon the poverty of the latter.

Thus, exploitation makes the exploiter dependent upon the exploited. And on another level, this dependence is at the heart of racism; it is its profound contradiction and its sharp misery — to be a man, for the European of Algiers, means first to be superior to the Moslem.

But what if the Moslem in his turn affirms his manhood, as the equal of the colonial? Well, the colonial's very being is dealt a blow; he feels diminished, devaluated. In the accession of Arabs to

(*Continued on page 24*)

"You are misstating the existentialist position."

Liberal Judaism and the modern need

Mankind in new age of despair could benefit from an age-old fortress of earthly hope

By SOLOMON B. FREEHOF

Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, rabbi of Rodef Shalom Temple, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, delivered this address as one of five major speeches on the program of the recent 16th Congress of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom in Chicago, Illinois. Dr. Freehof, noted as a scholar, author, and speaker, has been president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and is a member of the executive board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He is a graduate of the University of Cincinnati and Hebrew Union College.

Liberalism is always a revolt against the past in behalf of the future. The liberal breaks with tradition because of his faith in human destiny. Essential, therefore, to the psychology of liberalism is the feeling that the past is too much with us, that it ties our hands as we grope for a better tomorrow.

To some degree, this revolt against the past is justified. All the historic religions develop certain moods which become modes of acting and thinking. This gives them stability, but they pay the price of inelastic conservatism. Since a changing world needs new ideas, or new applications of old ideals, these can only be made more easily available after a rebellion against the habituated past.

Thus it is for the sake of tomorrow that the religious liberal seems hostile to the habits of yesterday.

Respective liberalisms must differ

Since the yesterdays of the various religions differ from each other, their respective liberalisms must differ. The liberal in Christianity needs to resist different past habits than does the liberal in Judaism.

Christianity has the inveterate habit of theology. From the days of earliest Greek influence, Christian leaders have been theologians, and every new change in Christianity has involved a struggle against old creeds and a building of new ones. In general, the liberal Christian resists this age-old Christian habit of translating every problem into doctrinal or philosophic terms. The liberal Christian is generally an anti-credalist. Instead, he represents active, ethical work for the improvement of society. He tends, therefore, to become "this worldly" instead of "other worldly."

The liberal in Judaism has a different traditional habit to combat. Judaism has not been philosophic or theological except for brief scholastic intervals in the Middle Ages. Instead, it has always been activist, seeking practical commandments to obey. Hence the habit in Judaism is to elaborate practical obligations, to increase commandments and prohibitions.

In other words, the danger in Judaism is not credalism, as in Christianity, but it is legalism. Therefore the Jewish liberal is usually an anti-legalist. He fights against the claim of the ritual and ceremonial commandments, and asserts the higher claim of the ideal ethical and spiritual as implicit in the teachings of the prophets. He tends to be against the rabbinic lawyers and for the biblical prophets.

This fact, that liberalism in Christianity must be different from liberalism in Judaism, has created some strange opinions. Isaac Mayer Wise, the master-builder of Reform or liberal Judaism in America, firmly believed that modern liberal Judaism would become the religion of all of America. This erroneous, but touching, confidence sprang from the fact that he saw the rise of liberal Christianity, and noting that it understated the old Christian "other worldliness" and emphasized work in earthly society, was confident that it was moving nearer to Judaism.

On the other hand, many Orthodox Jewish leaders attacked the liberal movement in Judaism on the ground that it was an imitation of Christianity. This, of course, was double exaggeration. Liberal Christianity was not Judaizing Christianity, nor was liberal Judaism Christianizing Judaism. Nevertheless, the fact is that the liberals, having somewhat diminished time-worn differences, have indeed approached each other — near enough, at least, to be able to understand, to appreciate, and to be of mutual help.

That is why it is possible to have a world conference of all religious faiths. All liberals are modernist. All liberals are activist. All liberals are optimist. And all believe that the past should serve the future. This is a grand platform on which to meet.

Of course, liberals do not undo as much of the past as they think they do. The past lives even in the modern forms; and when liberals meet to help each other, they must ask, "Can my own past in its modern dress be of special help to the modern world?" Therefore, my own task as a Jewish liberal is to ask and answer, if I can, this question: can Judaism, as seen by a Jewish liberal, be of inspiration and service to the world in its present situation?

Before this can be answered, we must ask what is the situation for which a remedy is needed. What is the actual disease of the world?

Simple diseases usually have simple remedies, but when an ailment is complex, many physicians will be consulted, many differing diagnoses will be made, and a variety of remedies suggested. Thus, with regard to the moral and spiritual ailments of our age, the multiplicity of remedies being offered nowadays indicates the complexity of the disease. Magazine articles, sermons, and innumerable books propose a wide variety of remedies, since there is a wide disagreement as to diagnosis.

It would be helpful if we could do as the doctor does, namely, to begin by asking the patient, "What troubles you? Where does it hurt? Or, what do you imagine is wrong with you?" But how can we ask the patient when the patient is mankind and he is largely inarticulate? How, then, can we know what is actually troubling people and what they believe is spiritually or morally wrong with our world?

Best-sellers provide an index

It would seem difficult to elicit a widespread self-expression of these disquietudes, but it is really not too difficult. In America, at least, there is a way of learning the nature of the spiritual discontents in the hearts of a large and intelligent section of our people. We have an instrument of social-spiritual diagnosis, an index which we have not adequately made use of, namely, the ever-changing list of best-selling books. This list is a dynamic index of variation of inner attitudes.

The best-selling list of books is not something artificially concocted. If best-sellers could be created by advertising, then every publisher would have some best-sellers on his list every year, and all publishing firms would be prosperous. But a publisher knows that it is impossible to foretell what kind of book the American people will deem vital during any particular year. The best he can do is watch the success of one publisher and imitate it as quickly as possible before the new public mood vanishes.

One year, for some reason, three or four books about the ocean were bought in vast numbers. Another year, people were eager to read books about mountain

climbing. These changes in sentiment and interest must be of some significance. The list can hardly be manipulated and, if read correctly, it can be an index to shifting moods and varying social needs.

Religious books become popular

For the last ten years, year after year, there have been at least four books of definite religious content on the best-selling list. This is an ethical, perhaps a spiritual, but certainly a psychological phenomenon. If we realize that every year for a decade, religious books have been made into best-sellers by the American people, we are dealing with a fact, a massive fact.

Undoubtedly, something has happened in the hearts of modern man. We do not quite know what it is, but it must be some sort of spiritual restlessness, a hunger; as to the specific nature of that hunger, we are not sure. Yet, the fact that it expresses itself in the best-seller list gives us an opportunity for closer diagnosis.

There is a clue in the type of religion found in those books.

We note, first, that almost exclusively, the books are unconcerned with mystic, spiritual matters. People *should* be concerned with their immortality and the salvation of their souls in eternity, but the books do not show it.

The books that acquire millions of readers are nearly all of one kind. They deal with the questions of how to live, how to be happy, how to face the world. The spiritual hunger of our day is almost entirely this-worldly. People want help from religion in the present problems, spiritual and ethical, of their daily lives.

The second characteristic of the best-selling religious literature is that it is non-denominational. A Catholic writer is read by hundreds of thousands of Protestants, a Protestant writer by vast numbers of Catholics, and a Jewish author of a book on how religion can help us live in this age became the most successful best-seller of all.

Non-credal tendency is liberalism

This tendency to be non-credal and practical is precisely liberalism. There is an unintended but unmistakable liberalism in the popular religious books of the day. This liberal, non-denominational spirituality is all the more interesting because the authors are chiefly churchmen.

Evidently each writer is aware that through him, perhaps for the first time, his own religious tradition is speaking to a vast, undifferentiated group. The Catholic writers will indeed be Catholic, but not in a directly doctrinal way, and so with the Protestant and the Jewish writer.

What the writers seem to strive for is not an enunciation of the theology of their respective traditions, but an expression of its psychology; not its doctrine, but its historic mood. The Catholic does not speak Catholic doctrine but speaks as a Catholic man, and so for the others. It is as if each writer, steeped in his own traditions, brings the moral mood and personality of his tradition to bear upon such modern problems as it can help solve and upon such contemporary burdens as it can make bearable.

WHILE THE AUDIENCE ARRIVES: Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Emily Taft Douglas, moderator of the American Unitarian Association, are seated on the stage of Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, as the audience gathers for Dr. Freehof's address at the 16th Congress of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom. Dr. Freehof was presented by Mrs. Douglas.

Thus, the nature of the books constituting the imposing phenomenon of a decade of widespread literary popularity gives us some insight into what modern man feels he needs. He seeks a guidance in this earthly life from whatever religious tradition it can come; he wants to see it justified and expressed in the character structure.

All of this urges a new task upon every modern religion. It must speak to all men who need ethical and spiritual healing. Beyond teaching its specific doctrines and specific duties to its own people, it must do something for all men who ask for help. It must bring to the modern, confused world its essential spirit, its mood, its personality.

Speaking, then, in behalf of Judaism, we may phrase the task as follows: What is there widely relevant in Judaism for today? If a Jewish writer or dramatist or preacher is steeped in Jewish tradition and law, and is this-worldly in his interests and, therefore, a liberal, what healing might he hope to bring to the sick soul and the confused conscience of modern man?

Victor Hugo said: "In the twentieth century hatred will be dead; the scaffold will be dead; war will be dead. And man will begin to live."

This *is* the twentieth century. We are halfway through it, and to us Victor Hugo's grand statement seems simply ridiculous. No responsible public man in the middle of the twentieth century could dare make such a confident statement. Yet the fact that Hugo's statement seems so ridiculous to us is a symptom of a sickness in the soul.

New age of despair arrives

We have come to a time in which world hope has begun to fade away. There have been other such ages of despair before this one. The Middle Ages also had a sense of impending world destruction, and its art expressed itself in the Dance of Death. But our age finds its despair the more painful because it was only yesterday that we lived in a world of hope.

Just a generation ago, all of Western man was confident of the onward march of mankind, that tomorrow would be better than yesterday, and the twentieth century better than the nineteenth. The river of history was sweeping towards a bright and a permanent sunrise.

The sudden change to despair over the world's future amounts to a sense of impending castastrophe. The average man is shaken by the feeling of the probable destruction of the entire fabric of human culture and civilization. Too suddenly for our peace of mind, we are plunged back into the dark mood of the medieval hymn, "Dies Irae," "the coming days of wrath," when "the era will go up in smoke."

There is, indeed, something useful in such despair. This loss of easy confidence may offer an ethical opportunity. But if anything good can be made of this dark mood, it will be Christianity, especially in its new Protestant theology, which will be of especial help. But to the extent that some rebuilding of hope *is* necessary, there Judaism can serve, for it is in Judaism that earthly hope has built its firmest fortress.

Two visions of the future

Not that Christianity is devoid of hope. Both of the biblical religions have it in ample measure. Both of them differ from the equally grand Greek civilization. The greatest literary products of the Greeks were classic tragedies. The Greeks were happy about today and despairing about the future. The two Bible religions were somber about today and hopeful about the future.

Yet the two Bible religions differ as to the meaning of the word "future." Christianity tends to see the future as superearthly, as a heavenly Jerusalem. Judaism tends to see the future as mundane, an earthly paradise. This is not merely a difference in text, but a thorough difference in spiritual-ethical texture.

The thousand years of the Hebrew Bible constitute, perhaps, the only example of a superb ethical spirituality which had only the vaguest intimation of post-earthly immortality. The "heaven" of the Old Testament was a heaven on earth. Even in the post-biblical centuries, when the idea of immortality entered Judaism and heaven was annexed to the kingdom of the soul — even then the hope for an earthly deliverance of mankind remained. The coming of the Messiah to establish earthly blessedness remained as a living teaching all through the long life of Jewish experience. This was Judaism's firmest social conviction and Jewry's deepest consolation.

Can mankind recover confidence?

Is mankind, today, accessible to this ancient confidence in the world future? This is not a rhetorical question. It may be, however, a tragic one.

The Communist world is taught by its doctrines that there is a grand future for mankind. It will indeed be tragic if the Western, non-Communist world, which only a generation ago lived in the atmosphere of scientific hope, should now remain permanently in a mood of fear and dread of imminent catastrophe. In a contest for the hearts of mankind, despair can never win over hope, even though that hope be a Communist hope and may prove to be a delusion.

The Western world, for its own survival, needs to recover that old, stubborn confidence in the future which never left the Jewish tradition. There is a new possibility that this hope may become acceptable.

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It was when the bloody Assyrian Empire threatened every land; it was in the time of Isaiah and Micah that the world first was given the good tidings that some day nations would beat their swords into plowshares and learn the art of war no more. The noble vision was rejected for two thousand years by the generality of mankind. This was understandable, for war always had a status in the human heart which no vision could dislodge. War was adventure, war was profit, war was the expression of a man's true manhood.

But now we have the first evidence of a complete change. Instead of only a few choice spirits disbelieving in war, all mankind has reached the stage where war is impossible to contemplate. Generals and admirals, Communists and capitalists, rich and poor, the stay-at-homes and the adventurous, civilians and soldiers have, for the first time in the human story, come to a worldwide consensus that war has lost its glory and that by means of war, victory can never be attained.

It is upon the foundation of this new mood that the eternal Jewish attitude of an earthly hope and the eternal Jewish vision of an earthly Eden well may be rebuilt, and to the extent that it is rebuilt within the shaken modern spirit, constructive social ethics will revive. Victor Hugo had spoken in the spirit of Judaism. He also had said what may well be prophetic: "The bird is perched upon the branch of a tree. The branch is shaken by the wind. But the bird sings without fear because it knows that it has wings."

The discoveries in nuclear physics have induced the disease of world despair, and the growth of world communism is the second cause of spiritual-ethical disease. Those doctrines, which for three generations had been confined to a few revolutionists, have become the doctrines and the mood of half the world. Their chief effect upon human character has been through the teaching of the class war, the inevitable class war which must be waged with every possible weapon, with iron resolution, and with unswerving hate. The world has been newly poisoned by fanaticism and has reversed the attitude attained in the last generation through the teachings of friendliness and tolerance.

Communist fanaticism has created a reaction of bitterness in the non-Communist half of the world so that this age, an age of the fading faith in the future, also has become an age of ebbing liberalism. Differences are now disliked. Reasonableness now is weakness. The right to speak out is suspected as treachery. It is an embittered age.

The good-natured tolerance is gone. Can it be recovered? Can it co-exist with the stern conviction which we need today?

Christianity, Judaism gain tolerance

To the extent that patient tolerance is needed again, it might seem that neither Christianity nor Judaism can be of help. The historian, Toynbee, believes that Judaism is the source of fanaticism and has infected Christianity with that disease. He would prefer the Romans, who were tolerant of many religions. Rome was a museum of the varied cults of the East. But the Romans were tolerant because they had no real religious conviction. It is easy to be tolerant if you do not care about the matter involved.

The early Jews and the early Christians were *not* tolerant. They were fighting against superstition and idolatry. Instead of the Roman tolerance rooted in indifference, they had a fanaticism rooted in conviction. It would seem hopeless, then, to look to religion for that friendly attitude to other men's ideas which has been lost during our passage into the modern age.

But Toynbee was not fully acquainted with the complete Jewish tradition. He only knows the early stage of Judaism, as reflected in scripture, although there, too, there is plenty of love for the stranger and for humanity.

Fading of America's youthful ambition calls for slower tempo, new mood

The growth of total Judaism reveals the development of a new combination of conviction and tolerance which is, I believe, unique among the attitudes of world thought. Judaism as the first monotheistic religion had to preserve the light of spiritual faith like a candle in a world of pagan storms. It was indeed intolerant toward the Canaanite nations, whose superstition more than once threatened to blow out the only light of pure worship in all the world.

But once monotheism was established, the world-loving side of scripture began to assert itself. First, it came to the understanding that the idolatrous Canaanite nations no longer existed as such, but that they now were all mixed up into one humanity; then, that the peoples of the world were not really idolators, but merely followers of old custom. Finally, more specifically, that Christians and Mohammedans are worshipers of the true God, and are described in Judaism as "Children of Noah," who have their portion in the world to come.

Judaism respects Christianity

There are many such passages in Jewish legal literature which, being written only for Jews, could not be suspected of apologetic purpose. There is no need to cite them. It is sufficient to say that they indicate a respect for Christianity as a true worship of the Creator and the teacher of God's laws of righteousness.

The implication of the concept of the "Children of Noah," applied in Jewish law to Christians and Mohammedans, is particularly relevant to our day. Judaism is, of course, different from Christianity. Judaism involves special commandments incumbent upon Jews which are not incumbent upon Christians. The fact that Christians do not observe the special Jewish commandments is no deprecation of their faith. God asks of them to obey the seven commandments of the Children of Noah: justice, righteousness, etc. That is all, and that is sufficient for a worthy worship.

One interesting legal citation is sufficient to indicate the basic attitude. The old law forbade having business dealings with the idolatrous pagans lest a contract require an oath to be taken. The pagan would then swear by Mars or Diana and we, by entering into his contract with him, would thus encourage him in his idolatry.

But, said a medieval rabbi in France, "We may make business contracts with Christians for, though they swear by their saints (and presumably by the trinity), they are directing their oath really to God. As for the fact that they add other holy personalities to God, that would be forbidden to us but is not forbidden to them."

What this means is that Christianity and Mohammedanism are not, in the eyes of Judaism, tentative or temporary religions. They are true religions as ordained by God, adequate for God's blessing. Judaism, with its additional duties, is especially ordained for Jews.

The difference between great religions is God-ordained. It is a sacred fact. This combination of firm conviction and broad basic tolerance runs through all the post-biblical centuries. It has its roots in scripture, but its growth in all of history.

This is an age which needs this special Jewish combination of firm belief and friendly respect for difference. To the extent that this can be taught, modern man will be able to hold the strong conviction which he needs, and yet relearn the calm tolerance under which his spirit can find repose.

The first World War created a moral debacle in the Western world. The breakdown of old ethics, the old respect of public opinion, disappeared into the so-called "jazz era" and seemed to revive the moral corruption of the Restoration period in English history.

The second World War was vaster in its extent, more shocking in its bloodiness. It undoubtedly is creating some deep, moral shock which has not been clearly described.

One effect was dealt with in a recent novel which has much more meaning than its light style would lead the reader to believe. There the hero, a returned paratrooper, is offered a grand business opportunity by the head of a vast enterprise. To the shocked surprise of the older man, the young man refused the opportunity. He said that he did not want the kind of life in which family and leisure would be sacrificed to ambition; he merely wanted comfortable advancement and security.

This mood is fairly typical today. Young men seem to have had their fill of adventure in World War II. They want a peaceful life. They do not care for great risks; they want their future assured. They do not care to gamble; they want security. This is an age, a rather surprising one for America, when the word "success" no longer has a magic ring. This age of world despair, of angry intolerance, is also an era of the fading of ambition.

"Sure it's the same old anthem, but stick around for the sermon!"

This fact has been noted in many books and articles and has been rather bitterly decried. Was not America built by the older mood of boundless ambition, by the drive to rise to higher opportunities?

Ambition, which is nature's endowment to every youth wherever he lives, dies out in every youth when he takes on the burdens and the dull drudgery of mature life. But in America this youthful ambition lived a few years longer in every person, and so America has always had, in every generation, millions of human life-years of extra ambition, a dynamic force which has made America economically and technically great. Now it seems to have faded out in this post-war situation. Many regret it as meaning a slowdown, a stalling of the machine of our special type of progress.

Lack of daring has advantages

Indeed it does. But it also has its advantages. It is perhaps fortunate that in the present world situation the spirit of venturesomeness has somewhat faded. In the nuclear age we are lucky, perhaps, that we are also going through a period of the subsidence of dynamism. Venturesome ages can easily become war ages; and if in these few dangerous years people prefer security, this amounts to a national attitude of caution which will help us find the strength to endure, the patience to wait for a better day.

Yet to live at this new and slower tempo requires a different mood. America had long developed the spiritual atmosphere for the dynamic drive and the dream of ambition. But we have not yet achieved the new philosophy needed for the calm and the careful living from day to day.

If that is what is needed, Judaism has it, for Judaism has developed an interesting relationship to the minutiae of daily living. All the great drives and world ambitions of prophetic idealism were translated gradually into the little disciplines of the daily commandments. Judaism has sanctified as spiritual and righteous hundreds of little rituals and deeds, until the average Jew learned to feel that he was worshiping God with almost every action in his life. He recited a hundred different benedictions before numerous minor duties every day in his life, and the reason for the strength of the cabalistic doctrines which from time to time grew powerful

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Whose eye should be at the keyhole?

Citizens should keep vigil over government rather than government spying on them

By J. FORD LEWIS

Article IV of the United States Bill of Rights guarantees that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated . . ." The founders of the nation knew from bitter personal experience what it was like to live under a strong central government where privacy of person and property was violated in official practice, and they were determined to protect the right of the individual when they wrote the Constitution for the new government.

This article, in common with the other nine articles in the Bill of Rights, is pointed directly at government itself. It rests on the political philosophy that there are rights which inhere in the citizen that even the sovereign people, operating through duly constituted authority, may not compromise or deny. The right of a man to be as secure in his home as though it were an impregnable castle is one of those rights.

Judging from recent developments in Washington, we need a sharp reminder of this today.

The chief investigator for the committee of the House of Representatives that is investigating influence peddling in government, one Baron Shacklette, has been doing his investigating, at least in part, eavesdropping by tape recorder. A microphone was found secreted under the door of a hotel suite occupied by associates of Bernard Goldfine, one of the individuals whose activities have been under scrutiny by the House committee. The cord attached to the microphone led to a tape recorder across the hall in a room occupied by Mr. Shacklette and an investigator employed by columnist Drew Pearson. The fact that Mr. Shacklette was summarily fired does not close the incident, for there are principles involved which are of intense concern.

Do means justify the ends?

Of most immediate and specific concern is the question of the rights of persons under congressional investigation. Can they be deprived of privacy and security in their persons and their accustomed places in the interest of "getting all the facts?" Can they be denied this vital dimension of personal liberty without due process of law?

Dr. J. Ford Lewis, associate minister of the First Unitarian Society of Portland, Oregon, is a previous contributor to the Register. *He formerly was minister of the Unitarian Society of Stockton, California, and holds a doctor of philosophy degree from the University of California.*

A larger issue is thrust upon us in the question of ends and means. Has eavesdropping become public policy, justified on the contention that any means may be used to advance a good cause? If so, our public officials need to be reminded that no amount of pious intentions can excuse questionable ways of getting information. Unethical means compromise and defeat worthwhile purposes and ends.

To some, the entire incident may seem nothing more than a sequence of harmless high jinks and misadventures appropriate to a musical comedy. Certainly it is not the only example of mid-summer madness ever to come out of Washington. But I must enter a sober demurrer and a note of warning. I am well aware that wiretapping was not known to be involved, and am ready to concede that no law has been violated by the peeping and snooping of committee investigators. My concern is not with legal technicalities but with democratic institutions.

It seems obvious that there has been an invasion of the privacy of an American citizen by the head investigator for a congressional committee. To argue that the committee itself knew nothing of it and did not condone it is a lame defense. In such an important procedure, surely the committee had an obligation to direct and control the investigation, to spell out the ground rules under which it would be conducted, and to keep a watchful eye on its agents. For several years I was employed as a government investigator in the highly volatile field of labor relations, and never once did it seem necessary or desirable to hover near transoms and keyholes to develop facts.

The government has all the might of federal police power at its command. It can subpoena witnesses, take affidavits and depositions, direct that any relevant evidence be brought before it, and punish recalcitrant witnesses through severe penalties for contempt of court. It does not have to hire swarms of private detectives and resort to backstairs intrigue.

Representative Harris' committee is investigating shady practices that affect the operation of administrative agencies of government. In so doing, they are serving the cause of clean government well. But at this point we well may be concerned whether the practices so abhorred have not exerted a fatal charm on the investigators themselves and crept subtly into their own procedures.

Government must not invite suspicion

Plutarch relates that Caesar, when asked why he parted with his wife, replied, "I wished my wife to be not so much as suspected." The government is so continually subject to unjustified criticism and attack by special interests that I suppose it is asking too much to expect it to be wholly above suspicion. It cannot control suspicion, no matter how blameless its conduct may be. We have a right, however, to insist that the course of government be such as not to *invite* suspicion, for that is something it can control.

I have dwelt in some detail on an infringement of privacy. The important thing is not so much the one instance of eavesdropping as the precedent which it sets.

Mr. Goldfine, to say the least, was in the center of a sticky and unsavory web of influence which, even if it violates no law, does extreme violence to the principle of integrity and responsibility in public office. I have no defense for him, and little sympathy, although one is bound to feel sorry for one who feels so hopelessly inadequate that he has to buy his friends wholesale. But we ought not to be blinded by his transgressions so as to be oblivious of our own, as represented in the questionable methods of the investigating staff. And of the two misdeeds, it is the compromise of personal privacy which is of greatest concern.

Too few Americans realize how fortunate we are to live under a constitution adopted in the eighteenth century and embodying the spirit of the Age of Enlightenment. A confident reliance on reason speaks from every line. An abiding faith in, and humane concern for, the individual everywhere shines through. The framers of that document, which became the example and inspiration for so many more constitutions in the centuries to follow, believed it possible for men of conflicting interests to get together and settle their conflicts and all the problems of state peaceably, by discussion and argument, by mutual concession and the application of reason.

It remained for later generations to question, as our generation did during the decade of the great depression, whether government by discussion is effective during a national crisis, when there is everything to discuss and no time to discuss it. As for the fathers of the Constitution, they believed implicitly in the doctrine of the natural rights of man, in the concomitant doctrine of limited government and constitutional supremacy, and in the dignity and worth of the individual man as an end in himself. Theirs was a bold experiment in which, for the first time, a nation wrote down in its Constitution so explicitly such a humane philosophy on the rights of man. Scores of constitutions have been drawn after this model, but in worldwide *practice* the views represented in the Bill of Rights are still, unfortunately, in the minority.

The conscientious maintenance of these rights at home can be of major assistance in helping spread them abroad. The battle for human freedom is the really critical battle in the cold war, the paramount issue facing the world today. The right to privacy is only one narrow band of light in the full spectrum of freedom, but a necessary one to provide harmony and balance to the whole. The state "overgrazes the human pasture" and destroys something precious and essential to itself when it thrusts itself unreasonably into people's private lives.

Whose eye at the keyhole?

On the reverse side of the Great Seal of the United States, there appears an unfinished pyramid signifying the ever continuing work of building a more perfect union. At the apex of the pyramid, surrounded by rays of light penetrating into all parts of the cosmos, appears an eye often referred to as the eye of Providence, the all-seeing eye of God. It is said that the designer of the seal meant to symbolize by this the declaration from the Book of Proverbs, "The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good." The Latin inscriptions above and below the device, taken from Vergil, assert that a "new series of ages" was inaugurated in 1776 and that "God has favored the undertaking."

I should not like to think that the new order begun in 1776 has reached a point today in which our spirit is best symbolized by the all-seeing eye of government peeping through a keyhole at John Citizen. I am confident that it has not. I am equally confident, paraphrasing another proverb, that the best guarantee that our system will never come to that rests in the vigilance with which John Citizen keeps a watchful eye on government, staring right back through the keyhole if need be.

From time to time, editorial writers across the land explore publicly the problem of a more exact and satisfactory name for our country, providing in the process an opportunity to rethink the meaning of America. Since every citizen of every nation in the Western Hemisphere shares with us the general term "American," it scarcely seems fair for us to monopolize it. Yet the term, "United Statesian" is abominably awkward, while "Yankee" is unsuitable for various reasons, and no other word seems to serve as well to describe a citizen of the United States as "American." Despite latent objections among some Canadians and Latin Americans, the name seems fated to be applied to us.

"All in favor of including William Ellery Channing's name on the petition to the mayor . . ."

In this connection, we profitably can take a page from the book of Leif Ericson, America's real discoverer of nearly a thousand years ago. Like many an explorer before him, back to Old Testament times, Leif had the reasonable and gracious habit of naming new lands, not after himself or his relatives, but after the qualities suggested by the appearance of the land itself. According to the *Saga of the Wineland Voyages,* when Leif's company first made landfall on the glacier-scoured, rocky coast of what probably is now Labrador, they noted that "this land had no good qualities" and named it "Helluland," Flagstoneland.

Proceeding down the coast, Leif named the various areas he explored, each after its own peculiar character. At the southernmost end of the voyage, possibly along the New England coast, he found enough wild grapes, it is said, to fill their longboat. "And when the spring came they got ready, and sailed away; and Leif gave the land a name after its qualities, and called it Vinland (Wineland)."

What is America's quality?

Despite occasional vagrant lapses, the American spirit and dream remain the last, best hope for a troubled world. We share a goodly heritage with all men of good will, especially with the liberal West. America's passion for the individual is its strength and shield in a century that has seen Leviathan governments in Germany and Russia crush the individual and bend him inexorably to their own purposes through naked force. Our free spirit is still a beacon of hope wherever men are rising out of colonialism and pauperism to claim a share in the twentieth century.

We are deeply concerned with what the world thinks of us, but we ought to know that no Voice of America speaks as loudly or insistently as the eloquent voice that rises above our daily activities, testifying of our actions. Americans today will be known by their fruits as surely as any generation that was ever judged by its example.

"This land shall be named for its qualities." One of our foremost qualities is that the privacy of the individual is inviolable before the law, except through due process, even the privacy of a citizen accused of wrongdoing. May it long remain on the books and in the hearts of Americans everywhere.

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President Sidney E. Mead
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Algeria

(*Continued from page 17*)

the human world, he sees not only the economic consequences; he abominates it because it announces his personal fall. In his fury, he sometimes dreams of genocide. But that is pure poetry. He knows it; he knows his dependence; what would he do without a native under-proletariat, without an over-large labor force, without chronic unemployment which allows him to fix salaries? And then, if Moslems are *already* men, everything is lost; there is no longer a need even to exterminate them.

No, what is most urgent, if there is still time, is to humiliate them, to raze the pride in their hearts, to put them back on the level of beasts. The body will be allowed to live, but the spirit will be killed. Subdue, train, chastize — these are the words which obsess him; there is not enough room in Algeria for the two types of humans; one must choose between them.

I do not pretend, of course, that the Europeans of Algeria invented torture, or even that they have incited the civil and military authorities to practice it. On the contrary, torture imposed itself; it became routine before anyone even noticed.

But the hate of man which is manifested in it is an expression of racism. For it is certainly the man which must be destroyed, with all his qualities of manhood, courage, and will, intelligence, integrity — the same qualities claimed by the colonials. But if a European is so carried away as to detest his own image, it is because it is reflected by an Arab.

Thus, of these the two indissoluble couples, the colonial and the colonized, the executioner and the victim, the second is only an emanation of the first. And without any doubt, the executioners are not colonials, nor are colonials executioners. The latter are frequently young men from France who have lived 20 years of their lives without ever worrying about the Algerian problem. But hate was a magnetic field: it cut through them, corroded, enslaved.

The calm lucidity of Alleg permits us to understand all of this. If he gave us nothing else, we would still have to be profoundly grateful. But he has done more: by intimidating his executioners, he has achieved a triumph in behalf of the humanity of the victims and colonized against the unruly violence of certain soldiers, against the racism of the colonials.

And this word "victim" should not evoke some whining humanism: surrounded by these little *caïds,* proud of their youth, their strength, their numbers, Alleg is the only hard one, the only one who is really strong. *We* can say that he has paid the highest price for the simple right of remaining a man. But he does not even think about it. That is why this phrase from the end of a paragraph moves us so strongly:

> *"I felt proud all of a sudden, and joyous at not having given in; I was convinced that I could take it again if they started over; that I would fight to the end; that I would not make their task easy by my suicide."*

A hard one, yes, and one who wound up frightening the archangles of anger.

In some of their words, at least, one feels that they have forebodings of this, and that they are trying to conjure up some vague and scandalous revelation. When the victim wins, goodbye to the sovereignty, the princely rights; the archangel wings freeze, and the torturers ask themselves, put out: "and me, could I take it if they tortured me?"

At the moment of victory, one system of values takes the place of another; very little is necessary for the executioners to catch a glimpse of madness in their own turn. But no: their heads are empty, and they are harassed by work, and then, they scarcely believe what they are doing.

But why trouble the conscience of executioners? If one falters, their chiefs will replace him. One lost, ten found. Perhaps the greatest merit of Alleg's narrative is that it finally dissipates our illusions; no, it is not enough to punish or to re-educate a few individuals; no, the Algerian war will not be humanized. Torture has established itself.

It was proposed by the circumstances and summoned by racist hates; in a certain way, we wanted it; it is at the heart of the conflict, and it is torture, perhaps, which explains its most profound truth. If we want to put an end to these dismal, filthy cruelties, to save France from shame and the Algerians from hell, we have only one way, still the same, the same we have always had, the only way we ever will have: start negotiations, make peace.

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Liberal Judaism

(*Continued from page 21*)

in Judaism was that the Cabala reminded the average Jew that each small action of his may be of cosmic significance and help to redeem the world.

Judaism is, therefore, a rather strange religion: a religion of holy minutiae, a religion of minor sacraments, a religion which believes that the nobility of life is built up like a coral reef.

In this it differs from Christianity. The difference is not that Christianity is a religion of creed and Judaism is a religion of deed. This trite saying is a libel on both religions. Both are interested in both action and belief. But it is a difference of direction. Christianity holds that if you begin with the right belief you will arrive at the right action. Judaism has come to believe that if you begin with the right action you will arrive at the right belief. Christianity is deductive. Judaism is inductive.

It is absurd to ask which is the better way. But this may be said: in an age that had its dreams of greatness and great personal ambition, Christianity can serve especially to remind men to be humble. In an age such as this, where men are already humbled and are content with smaller duties, Judaism can assure them that these may be meaningful and build up into a worthy life.

Since the disease of the present age is highly complex, there are elements in it that require the remedies which Catholicism and Protestantism, Buddhism, and Islam each possesses; but certain characteristics of the age well may be benefited if the spirit of Judaism is made available. Since it is an age in which world hope has faded, one in which tolerance has died away into fanaticism, and ambition weakened into mere economic security, there is need for the special teachings of that historic faith which always was sure of this world's great future, which uniquely blended the certainty of the rightness of its own faith and the justification of other faiths, and which discovered for average men the minor sacrament of the daily task. So it declares to the broken world: "Come to this fortress, ye prisoners of hope." (Zechariah 9:12)

THE LAITY

PROTEST VOYAGE ENDED

The thirty-foot ketch *Golden Rule* was sold June 28 to an undisclosed buyer. The crew of the ship and its sponsors announced that its voyage of protest against nuclear weapons tests in the Pacific had ended.

The crew had attempted to sail the *Golden Rule* to Eniwetok in the Marshall Islands to halt nuclear tests with their lives. On April 11, the Atomic Energy Commission issued an unprecedented order barring all unauthorized United States Citizens from a 390,000 square mile danger zone around the test area. An injunction specifically forbidding the *Golden Rule* from violating this regulation soon followed. The crew members maintained that this was a violation of the right of free navigation in international waters. They continued their voyage.

After their second start from Honolulu, Hawaii, they were returned by the United States Coast Guard to face charges of criminal contempt of court. They were given sixty-day suspended sentences with one year's probation. After two further attempts to leave Honolulu were stopped, they were jailed.

Albert S. Bigelow, captain of the *Golden Rule* and a member of the board of the Unitarian Service Committee, was asked by the *Register* to tell what he thought his voyage accomplished. His statement:

"We, the crew of the *Golden Rule,* cannot properly judge what our voyage accomplished. Thousands of people — from all over the world — sought us out, wrote us in jail, supported us. One of them said, 'Yours is a spiritual voyage — a voyage each of us must take. So I sail with you. I do not know where the voyage will lead, but I am no longer guilty and afraid. So long as it leads me out of the dark, the inhuman, and the dirty, it feels right, and clean, and good. I shall fear no evil.'

"Most of all," Mr. Bigelow continued, "we wished to arouse the conscience of the nation and the world. We wanted to show that the crisis we live in is a moral crisis; that our sense of decency, of humanity has been degraded so that we can justify any outrage; that the real horror is that we are no longer aware of horror.

"We wanted to say that increasing evidence shows the United States' policy debasing our glorious country into the very thing we fear. Our country's acts are undemocratic and unworthy. To most of the world they seem as insolent, as wasteful, and as arrogant as the Communists'. With President Sukarno, of Indonesia, we wanted to say, 'It is past time for the West, Communist and anti-Communist alike, to draw back from the edge of complete moral bankruptcy.'

"We are infinitely grateful that God made our hearts tender and opened us to the power of Love. We know that it can overcome the world."

YOUTH GROUP TOURS EAST

Twelve members of the Steinmetz Club, youth group of All Soul's Church in Schenectady, New York, visited four East Coast cities in June on a study tour of local and federal problems.

The group interviewed civic and political leaders in New York, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Richmond, Va.; and Washington, D. C.

Explaining the purpose of the tour, the Rev. William Gold, minister of the Schenectady church, said that he has "the firm conviction that the best religious education for youth exposes them to first-hand experience of life's problems and possibilities."

In New York City, members of the group interviewed Mayor Wagner and executives of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Urban League. In Philadelphia and Richmond, they discussed race relations, labor problems, and juvenile behavior with civic leaders. In Washington, they met with Senator Javits of New York and Senator Jackson of Washington. The Washington stop also included visits and conferences at the International Union of Electrical Workers national headquarters, the Voice of America, and the Russian embassy.

UNITARIAN HONORED

John B. Fisher of Wellesley, Massachusetts, a former director of the United Unitarian Appeal, has been elected to a ten-year term as a trustee of Mt. Holyoke College. Mr. Fisher is a partner in Joyce and Fisher Associates, representing New England interests in Washington.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

INDIANS VISIT CHURCH SCHOOL

Menominee Indians from northern Wisconsin visited the First Unitarian Society of Madison for two days as part of a summer church school in Indian culture.

The visit contributed to a two-week study of Wisconsin and Navaho Indian folklore. The theme was chosen for its possibilities in teaching both religious values and practical arts and crafts.

"On the one hand," stated the Rev. Max Gaebler, minister of the Madison church, "our children would come to recognize Indians as one of the constituent groups in our American population today, a group with a proud heritage as well as difficult present problems. At the same time, by learning something of Indian cultures, our children could come to understand that men in all times and places have confronted the same ultimate issues, though the manner of dealing with these issues varies from one culture to another."

NEW FRIENDS IN TREEHOUSE: Members of the Menominee Indian tribe join Madison, Wisconsin, young people in a treehouse during their two-day visit.

The Menominees visited the church school to instruct pupils in Indian customs and to teach traditional dances of the tribe. They were guests in the homes of church members during their stay.

ADULT COURSES RELEASED

A new series of adult program materials, entitled *Beacon Twenty-Five,* will be released this fall by the Adult Programs Department, Council of Liberal Churches (Universalist-Unitarian), Inc.

The materials will be prepared over a period of ten years, with at least two new titles appearing each year.

When completed, the twenty-five courses will include materials on the world's great religions, national and international issues, technical information for guidance in group functions, and denominational education.

The *Beacon Twenty-Five* will be available to churches and fellowships on a subscription basis at an annual rate of $3.50. Subscribers will receive materials bringing previous issues up to date, a clearing house publication on the activities of other adult groups, as well as the new courses.

First year plans include the publication of Part I of two courses titled *An Introduction To Unitarianism* and *An Introduction To The United Nations.* In addition, revised materials on *Group Processes* and the *World's Great Religions* are planned for early release.

Designed for use by Unitarians and Universalists, the courses will include a text, a study guide, a leaders' guide, a bibliography, and additional materials appropriate to each subject. They will be enclosed in folders designed for placement in a central church file for ready availability to leaders and members.

Beacon Twenty-Five will appear under a new imprint, reproduced herewith, symbolizing the religious liberal's concern for all knowledge and affirming the belief in education as the process by which men arrive at truth and self-realization.

Subscription forms for *Beacon Twenty-Five* are available from the Adult Programs Department, Council of Liberal Churches, 25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass.

NEW DUTIES FOR DR. SPOERL

Dr. Dorothy T. Spoerl, curriculum editor for the Council of Liberal Churches (Universalist-Unitarian), Inc., has resigned as chairman of the psychology department at American International College in Springfield, Massachusetts, to accept a position teaching in an elementary school in Langdon, New Hampshire.

Dr. Spoerl served on the faculty of AIC for eighteen years. Her resignation results from a long-felt ambition to work more closely with children and to live in New Hampshire.

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NECROLOGY

EDWARD JAY MANNING

Edward Jay Manning's great gift to the Unitarian ministry was his warm, outgoing nature, felt by all with whom he came in contact. He had a love of people and a genius for friendship which made him a widely beloved pastor and a treasured companion among his fellow ministers.

During the final eight years when he was incapacitated, his home in Brooklyn, New York, was frequented by a host of friends who found their visits no hardship but occasions to be enjoyed. His sense of humor was keen, and he always had a good story to tell in his inimitable way.

His gift for languages was marked. I once passed a room in which he was wrestling with the problem of a troubled Syrian woman and, to my amazement, he was talking with her in her own tongue. Asked how he could do it, he replied with surprise, "How can you go in and out of the homes of people without picking up something of the way they speak?" Latin was familiar from his early days as altar boy in the Roman Catholic church. He had learned Spanish during a stay in Cuba. During the years of his final illness, he diligently undertook the study of German.

He was a pronounced extrovert. I found him typing one day with frequent interruptions by the telephone and visitors. On learning that he was writing the next Sunday's sermon, I could not resist the impulse to say that Times Square had more distractions and he might do even better there!

Edward Manning was a native of Brooklyn. The refusal of a priest to permit, on technical grounds, his mother's burial in consecrated ground ended his association with the Roman church. He went into business and became a frequent attendant at Harry Emerson Fosdick's church. On the advice of Dr. Fosdick he went, at the age of 29, to the Bangor Theological Seminary, receiving his B.D. in 1926. The next three years were spent at Columbia University, where he received his B.A. and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.

A short period in a brokerage house convinced him that he wished to enter the Unitarian ministry and he accepted the position of assistant minister at the First Unitarian Congregational Church, Brooklyn, with chief responsibility for the Willow Place Chapel congregation. After fifteen years of service, I suggested that if he ever was to have a church of his own, he ought to seek one soon. His response was characteristic: "Why should I move when I'm as busy as I can be and I'm happy?"

When called to Gardner, Massachusetts, in 1946, however, he decided to accept. He made frequent visits to Brooklyn where his wife and her mother remained because the wife continued in the position of kindergarten teacher in a public school.

After only four years, his work in Gardner was cut short by a severe stroke. The years of retirement in Brooklyn were difficult for him. He made every effort to regain the use of his paralyzed side and believed to the end that he would recover sufficiently to take a church again. The amazing achievement of the last years was the preparation of sermons for the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Five times he won its award. The back of the medallion reads, "For outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American Way of Life."

Mrs. Manning writes, "During his invalidism he spoke to me many times of his experience of the immediacy of God's presence and I think that this abiding faith was responsible for his heroic struggle to overcome his severe handicap." He died February 25, 1958. J. H. L.

CALEB SAMUEL SIMEON DUTTON

In 1898 there arrived at the Meadville Theological School (then in Meadville, Pennsylvania) a young Englishman who had been in America for a year and had come under the influence of the Rev. William C. Gannett in Rochester, New York. Born in Hoole, Chester, England, November 21, 1877, Caleb S. S. Dutton as a lad had been a choir boy in Chester Cathedral. After his twentieth year, he left Cambridge University and migrated to America, where he had been preceded by a brother.

Graduated from Meadville in 1901, he was ordained in Salem, Ohio, in 1902. There he met and married Helen B. Wright, teacher of biology in the Salem schools, whose father was on the faculty of Oberlin College. Throughout his ministry, Mrs. Dutton proved an important participant in the work of the churches her husband served. A daughter, Mona, now Mrs. Lionel Elvin of London, is their only child.

John White Chadwick, long the distinguished minister of the Second Unitarian Society in Brooklyn, New York, having died, "Sam" Dutton was called to enter into a highly intellectual succession of ministers beginning with Samuel Longfellow. His vital personality, his brilliant mind, and his assiduousness as a student quickly were recognized. In his early thirties, he was invited to deliver a course of lectures on "The Building of the British Empire" before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. Within his church, he led groups in serious study including the reviewing of current books in the fields of biography, history, and philosophy.

Among his parishioners were leaders in the social movements of the day. A company including Mary White Ovington was responsible for the beginning of the now famous National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Sam also enjoyed the throbbing life of New York city. He loved to walk up Fifth Avenue, swinging his stick and feeling the gaiety of the crowds. Deeply serious, he also had a great sense of fun which made him a lively companion.

In 1913, the Starr King Church in San Francisco was looking for "the most promising young minister in the denomination" to help it surmount a difficult situation, and Mr. Dutton was called. His forceful preaching arrested attention, and he was widely sought for lectures and addresses. He soon found himself at home in the University Club and also was invited to join San Francisco's most intellectually alert group of men. He was minister of the church for thirty-six years.

He loved the mountains of California and would go with a pack on his back to climb,

sometimes alone. Often there would be a volume of verse in his pocket, for his delight in the English poets, particularly Wordsworth and Keats, was great. He made occasional visits in the summer to his old home in England.

A misfortune for one so persistently studious, to which he seldom referred, was the loss of the sight of one eye and, in latter years, the gradual fading of the light in the other.

The Meadville Theological School conferred upon him the degree of doctor of divinity in 1929 and the Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry made him doctor of sacred theology.

In the home in Palo Alto to which Dr. and Mrs. Dutton retired, the difficulty with his sight tended to make him a recluse, though he was present at the installation of Harry Scholefield, January 12, 1958, in the San Francisco church. He died April 16, 1958, having lent distinction to the Unitarian ministry for forty-six years. J. W. L.

RAY SANSOM TRUE

Ray Sansom True was born in Kansas, May 6, 1888. He received his A.B. degree from Kansas State University in 1912, and studied at Boston University School of Theology from 1935 to 1938. He was ordained a deacon in the Methodist church at Coffeyville, Kansas, in 1909, and an Elder at Baldwin, Kansas, in 1912. He held Methodist pastorates in Nebraska from 1918 to 1935. He later came east and was called eventually to be minister to the South Hingham Church. He was admitted to Unitarian fellowship at this time, and served happily at the Hingham church until 1942, when he was called to the church in Castine, Maine.

Ray True had a genuine sincerity of spirit which enhanced his pulpit ability. His warm, congenial personality and desire to be helpful endeared him to the lives of those whom he served.

In 1946, from causes unknown and irremediable, his health began to fail physically and mentally. Eventually he was admitted to the Foxboro State Hospital, where he remained until his death, February 25, 1958.

His ministry was varied, but ever aimed at serving his people in the highest he knew. An ordained deacon and elder, a chaplain in the United States Army serving Methodist churches for twenty years, he "found himself" in the Unitarian ministry. As Mrs. True has said, "His years in the Unitarian service were the happiest in his whole life." L. C. F.

ROWENA MORSE MANN

Dr. Rowena Morse Mann was born at Ithaca, New York, in 1871, a granddaughter of Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph.

She was a graduate of the University of Iowa, and was the first woman to receive a doctor of philosophy degree at the University of Jena, Germany, in 1904. In 1933, she was a guest professor at Jena and was honored with a bronze memorial plaque there. She also studied at the University of Berlin, Germany, at Cornell University, and at the University of Chicago Divinity School.

A well-known author and lecturer, she wrote and translated books on philosophy and allied subjects. She was a director of the Chicago branch of the American Association of University Women and a member of the American Psychology Association and of the American Philosophy Association. At one time, she was official lecturer for the Association for the League of Nations.

This writer met her in 1921, at the Harvard Summer School of Theology, along with three other active women ministers. Dr. Mann at that time was minister of the Third Unitarian Church in Chicago, which she had served since 1911. Despite her scholarly accomplishments and her seniority in service, she was a delightful companion, humorous as well as inspiring.

She earlier had served Unitarian churches in Geneva, Illinois; Keokuk, Iowa; and Kenosha, Wisconsin.

In 1912, she was married to the Rev. Newton Mann, also a Unitarian minister. After his death and her retirement from the active ministry, she withdrew from public life. She died March 3, 1958 at the age of eighty-eight. A. T. P.

JAY WILLIAM HUDSON

Dr. Jay William Hudson, Unitarian minister and former professor of philosophy at the University of Missouri, died May 11, 1958, at the age of eighty-four years.

Dr. Hudson was a scholar and a gentleman. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, May 12, 1874. He was educated at Hiram and Oberlin Colleges in Ohio, the University of California, and Harvard University. He received his A.M. at the University of California in 1906 and his Ph.D. at Harvard in 1908.

He held pastorates in San Francisco, Calif., Stoneham, Mass., and Santa Rosa, Calif. After serving as assistant professor of philosophy at the University of California for two years, Dr. Hudson became in 1908 professor of philosophy at the University of Missouri, a post which he held until his retirement in 1944.

Dr. Hudson was universally admired as a scholar, a professor, a minister, and a well-balanced liberal. His long life was a fruitful and challenging one. He will be greatly missed by all who knew him and came under his influence. C. W. R.

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BOOKS AND IDEAS

Life of Wendell Phillips is exaltation of agitator

PROPHET OF LIBERTY: The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips. By Oscar Sherwin. New York: Bookman Associates. $10.

"If I die before emancipation, write this for my epitaph. 'Here lies Wendell Phillips, infidel to a Church that defended slavery — traitor to a government that was only an organized conspiracy against the rights of man.' " That line epitomizes the passion of the radical aristocrat of nineteenth century Boston who not only did not die before the emancipation of the slaves, but hurled a death spear into the institution he despised.

Born to the manor in New England society, of a lineage which reached back to 1630, Wendell Phillips, son of the first mayor of Boston, was properly trained for law at Harvard. Beacon Hill was his habitat.

When the young lawyer heard tumult outside his office window, however, and discovered that his associates on the Hill were united in efforts to lynch William Lloyd Garrison ("the damned Abolitionist"), he abruptly confronted a side of reality hitherto unknown to his cultured eyes. Outraged to find that the regiment which should have protected Garrison was itself among the mob, Phillips experienced a trauma which shook his roots.

He met Garrison a few months later, in 1836. The Boston gentleman was rapidly transmuted into a pariah: he became an Abolitionist. Channing, in his discourse against slavery, had already chided the Abolitionists for being fanatical agitators. He urged moderation and individual action, rather than organized opposition to slavery, maintaining that the practice of Christian love was more important than actually effecting social reform.

Nevertheless, Phillips deliberately sacrificed his social standing and his career in order to speak and act with sharp moral force against what he knew to be the sin of the age, slavery. Neither open nor hidden threats could check his passion for the emancipation of the oppressed. He cast his life with Garrison and Theodore Parker as an agitator for liberty.

Oscar Sherwin has not only presented the definitive biography of the American philosopher of agitation, but also has painted a dramatic panorama of nineteenth century American culture. What adds particular intensity to chapter upon chapter is the author's vivid disclosure of notable personalities' reactions to the social conflicts focused on the slavery issue. The slaying of Elijah Lovejoy is narrated with passionate literary skill. Garrison emerges starkly as the contentious "pope" of the Abolitionists. Also seen in the context of this strife are John Brown, Charles Sumner, Anthony Burns, Horace Mann, Daniel Webster, George Latimer, John Calhoun, Ellen Craft, and Susan B. Anthony.

Of special interest to Unitarians are the fascinating sidelights played on Unitarian history through accounts of the thoughts and deeds of Channing, Emerson, Parker, Follen, Higginson. Phillips was intimately acquainted with these men; he regularly occupied Theodore Parker's Music Hall pulpit after the latter's untimely death.

Sherwin's book carries far more than excellent biographical episodes and insights, however. Disclosed here are underlying forces in American life, seen in sharper context than we ordinarily find them. For decades, in North and South alike, the press and the pulpit, almost without exception, were chained to the cause of slavery. To the radical reformers, to the apostles of freedom for the Negro, the Constitution itself was but "an agreement with hell" designed to protect the accursed institution which epitomized every evil. Economic theory and ardor for the Union were seen as mere modes of moral and political pretense behind which lay the drive to preserve human beings as property.

More than a biography, this book is a major complement to Myrdal's *An American Dilemma.* It unfolds responsible, concrete, dramatic historical sketches of value for all who would wrestle with today's primary domestic problem, race relations.

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Economist deplores treatment of aged

LONGER LIFE. By George Soule. New York: Viking Press. $3.

"For us the bell tolls later," and it is our longer life that creates the issues George Soule examines in this excellent book. His thesis, amply documented, is that the fact that more persons than ever before live beyond the age of sixty-five produces unique and disturbing problems both for society and for the elderly.

The author is an economist, and it is as such that he speaks with most authority. His book merits special commendation, however, because the boundaries of his own discipline do not keep him from probing the human dimensions of his subject with sympathy and insight.

Our aged are segregated, says Soule, because persons classify them not on the basis of personal qualities and abilities, but, rather, by what is expected of them because of their years. They may enter theaters, busses, and eating places, yes, *but* their status, their economic opportunity, and often their living arrangements and social contacts are radically restricted.

The author cites significant medical and psychiatric data to indicate the injustice of our attitude toward and treatment of the aged. He objects strenuously to compelling retirement at any arbitrary age, criticizes contemporary pension schemes, and points out that much of the physical and mental deterioration of the aged is induced by their sudden exclusion from full and productive lives.

Soule is convinced that the time has come to salvage the wasted abilities of our older citizens, to restore them to full psychological citizenship in a society where they are looked upon as a burden. His argument does not rely upon our sympathy; it contends that the segregation of the aged handicaps us all!

The number and proportion of dependents who must be supported by the active work force is increasing. There are more young people, their non-producing period of education is longer, and there is a greater proportion of old persons who have left the ranks of the employed. If we are to raise our standard of living, and if we are to give more leisure time to persons in their prime, we must "take a new look at the common assumption that paid work must cease at about the age sixty-five."

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There is much in this book to trigger the further questioning of persons concerned about the meaning of man and society: Can our affluent society, which gluts itself with trivia while it starves basic social services, organize itself so that it can assimilate a larger work force and so spread the work load more equitably? Soule defines "hobby" (recommended for the aged) as a term "derived from the moving hobby horse which rocks back and forth but never gets anywhere. . . ." Isn't this another way of saying that if men are truly to be men there must be meaning and worth in what they do? In our high-speed gadget-filled culture, how many persons of *any* age know what to do with silence and solitude? Finally, why do we keep old age out of sight and mind? Is it because we do not like to think about the mysterious door of death the aged are approaching? So proficient in elaborating the *means* of life, we do not pause often to consider ultimate questions — purposes and death among them.

Setting these issues to one side, I heartily recommend Soule's book — for laymen and ministers alike! J. ARNOLD MEARDON

Book for teenagers follows well-worn path

THE LUCKIEST GIRL. By Beverly Cleary. New York: William Morrow & Company. $2.95.

This is the typical story of a typical sixteen-year-old girl. Shelley Latham is plagued by the usual growing pains — family quarrels, school grades, and boys—-and experiences the usual thrills of dating the most sought-after boy in school, falling in love, and triumphing over a sarcastic teacher.

The author did a good job with the topic, throwing in very lovable touches now and then, and describing in detail the things which are important to teenagers. It is fun to read about a girl who is having fun, as Shelley is. However, the theme, the characters, the events themselves have been worked over so many times in the past that another book of this same type seems hardly necessary. ADRIAN STAIR

WHO director urges facing of human problems

CAN PEOPLE LEARN TO LEARN? How to Know Each Other. By Brock Chisholm. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.

Dr. Chisholm has applied his religious liberalism most recently to the World Health Organization as its director general and has given vent to the insights and frustrations there acquired in the present book. Though fragmentary, ill-organized, and not gracefully written, the book has the vitality of a passionate man behind it, and that supplies a value beyond its intellectual merits.

The intellectual merits are present, if varied. The first quarter is a useful reminder of the contrasting natures of the nations of the world. The second quarter treats such matters as anxiety, natural resources, and world population control in less than four pages each. The last half is a capable statement of a psychiatrically enlightened approach to child-rearing and sounds as though it had been written for the Beacon Series. At the end is a three-page outline of necessary knowledge, but it certainly does not constitute an answer to the problem raised in Dr. Chisholm's title.

Dr. Chisholm is a man of good will, and his earnest desire to see the human race face and solve its problems is undeniable. He is so honest about the magnitude of the problems that his book is discouraging in one way. As an ardent rationalist, Dr. Chisholm reviews, evaluates, and dismisses as positively bad the "intellectual-emotional-social pattern" of most of the human race. He is actively opposed to all non-scientific interpretations of reality, supernaturalism, exclusive nationalism, and emotional repression. His particular horror is world population increase, and he is especially passionate against those religions which oppose programs for its control.

The answer Dr. Chisholm proposes is simply to do all possible to promote maturity, scientific method, and rational human relationships at all levels. Not much that is specific is to be gleaned from these brief pages as an affirmative answer to the question in the title, but there is a presentation of the problems which penetrates the reader's mind, and there is the spirit of one man who, though human enough to be angry, is devoted enough to be the world citizen he urges us to be. We may be glad that Dr. Chisholm has shared himself with us in this book. NATHANIEL LAURIAT

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Behind the news

(*Continued from page 10*)

of freedom of speech, guaranteed by the First Amendment. Thus, the court, applying the familiar concept that one is innocent until proven guilty and that the burden of proof is on the accuser, concluded that in California the claimants were called upon to prove their innocence. This the court refused to countenance.

The majority decision leaves the future of the oath law in California open to some doubt. Under the decision, the state may endeavor to enforce the constitutional provision (which has not been declared unconstitutional) through the use of different procedures involving a rearrangement of the burden of proof. Justice Clark has suggested that this may be accomplished by making the filing of the oath conclusive in its effect of entitling a claimant to the tax exemption.

The opinions of the court were written by Justice Brennan. Justices Douglas and Black each wrote concurring opinions; Justice Burton concurred in the results; and Justice Clark was the lone dissenter. Chief Justice Warren took no part in the proceedings, no doubt because of his background in the government of California.

In the church cases, the majority opinion took note of the petitioners' contentions that the provisions of the state constitution and of the statute were an infringement upon the religious liberty guaranteed by the federal constitution, but stated merely that the disposition of the veterans' cases made consideration of those issues unnecessary. Thus, although the churches won their cases, the majority of the court rendered no decision on the freedom of religion apsect of the controversy.

"Tax on belief"

However, in Justice Black's concurring opinion for all four cases (in which Justice Douglas joined), he stated that in his view California had imposed an unprecedented "tax on belief and expression" which constituted a palpable violation of the First Amendment.[3]

The opinion continued:

> *"The mere fact that California attempts to exact this ill-concealed penalty from individuals and churches and that its validity has to be considered in this Court only emphasizes how dangerously far we have departed from the fundamental principles of freedom declared in the First Amendment. We should never forget that the freedoms secured by that Amendment — Speech, Press, Religion, Petition and Assembly — are absolutely indispensable for the preservation of a free society in which government is based upon the consent of an informed citizenry and is dedicated to the protection of the rights of all, even the most despised minorities.*
>
> *"I am convinced that this whole business of penalizing people because of their views and expressions concerning government is hopelessly repugnant to the principles of freedom upon which this Nation was founded and which have helped to make it the greatest in the world."*

Justice Douglas, in his concurring opinion in the church case (Justice Black agreed), observed:

> *"But there is a related ground on which the decision in these Unitarian cases should rest. We know from the record one principle of that church:*
>
> *'The principles, moral and religious, of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles compel it, its members, officers and minister, as a matter of deepest conscience, belief and conviction, to deny power in the state to compel acceptance by it or any other church of this or any other oath of coerced affirmation as to church doctrine, advocacy or beliefs.'*
>
> *"We stated in* Girouard v. United States, *328 U.S. 61, 69, 'The test oath is abhorrent to our tradition.' . . . the reason for that abhorrence is the supremacy of conscience in our constitutional scheme. As we stated in* Board of Education v. Barnette, *319 U. S. 624, 642, 'If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.'*
>
> *"There is no power in our government to make one bend his religious scruples to the requirements of this tax law."*

Minority views key to future?

In his concurring opinion in the veterans' cases, Justice Douglas (with whom Justice Black agreed) forcefully directed an assault on governmental restrictions on "advocacy":

> *"Today what one thinks or believes, what one utters and says have the full protection of the First Amendment. It is only his actions that government may examine and penalize. When we allow government to probe his beliefs and withhold from him some of the privileges of citizenship because of what he thinks, we do indeed 'invert the order of things,' to use Hamilton's phrase. . . . What a man thinks is of no concern to government. 'The First Amendment gives freedom of mind the same security as freedom of conscience.' . . . Advocacy and belief go hand in hand. For there can be no true freedom of mind if thoughts are secure only when they are pent up.*
>
> *". . . When government denies a tax exemption because of the citizen's belief, it penalizes that belief.*
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *". . . I repeat that thought and speech go hand-in-hand. There is no real freedom of thought if ideas must be suppressed. There can be no freedom of the mind unless ideas can be uttered.*
>
> *"I know of no power that enables any government under our Constitution to become the monitor of thought, as this statute would have it become."*

The foregoing excerpts from the concurring opinions of Justices Black and Douglas perhaps represent a more liberal attitude than that which prevails among the majority of the court. But even as minority views, they should be of great interest to those who consider the relationship of church and state and the constitutional freedoms of conscience and belief. Perhaps at some future date, these minority views will provide the key to the resolution of the questions heard, but not decided, in the four California loyalty oath cases.

It is expected that the churches which paid taxes under protest will be able to recover the payments without further legal proceedings. As noted, California still may attempt to correct the "due process" fault in its legislation and ride on in the face of the minority views to test whether the loyalty oath requirement does violate freedom of speech and religion. However, such a course of action does not seem likely.

[3] Article I of the Bill of Rights: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." The freedoms encompassed therein are made immune from state action by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Meditation room

(*Continued from page 9*)

side, quietly dissuade the noisy or the merely curious from entering. The spirit of reverence is maintained purposefully for those who wish quiet to think.

On the wall approaching the Meditation Room are three bronze plaques honoring those who died in the service of the United Nations: one for those who died in the Korean war; one for Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, who was killed during his work as UN arbitrator in Jerusalem, and one to those UN members of Peace Observation teams who died in many parts of the world. As one leaves the Meditation Room and passes the tokens, these words come to mind: "My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled; neither let it be afraid."

ELVIRA K. FRADKIN
United Nations Representative
American Unitarian Association

CHILDREN'S MURAL TO JAPAN

A mural painted by the children of the Unitarian Church of All Souls, New York City, has been chosen for exhibition in Tokyo, Japan, at the International Conference of Social Work. Theme of the exhibition is "The United States Seen Through Children's Eyes."

The mural was done for Brotherhood Month and depicted New York with its many different people living together in the city. The exhibition will tour Asia after the November Conference.

● Mrs. Cornelia Christenson, member of the Unitarian Fellowship of Bloomington, Indiana, is one of the authors of the newest Kinsey Institute study, titled *Pregnancy, Birth, and Abortion.*

● The Rev. Richard S. Hasty is serving as president of the Ministerial Association of Greater Fall River, Massachusetts.

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